The Log of the GRAND TURKS

By

Robert E. Peabody

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THE LOG OF THE GRAND TURKS

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THE FIRST GRAND TURK

THE LOG OF THE GRAND TURKS

BY

ROBERT E. PEABODY

Author of 'Merchant Venturers of Old Salem' and 'The Naval Career of Captain John Manley'.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
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To
The Sponsor
of the
Fourth Grand Turk

PREFACE

In these days, when steamers and motorships are gradually driving sailing vessels from the seas, much of the romance of the day of sail has gone forever, and the lover of things marine cherishes all records and chronicles that can be found regarding the ships and sailors of that now rapidly closing era. Ships are like men; some eke out a humdrum, monotonous existence, while others enjoy a career of adventure and achievement; yet the story has been recorded of but few of the many. It is the purpose of these pages to recount the histories of four famous American sailing vessels, each of which had a prosperous and adventurous career in a different important period of our history, and each of which bore the name 'Grand Turk.'

The first Grand Turk, a ship of three hundred tons, was built at Hanover, Massachusetts, in 1781, during our War of Independence. She was designed as a merchantman, but, in view of the troubled times in which she was launched, her owner, Elias Hasket Derby of Salem, fitted her with twenty-eight guns, and sent her to rove the

seas as a privateer. She filled this rôle with great success and captured many British vessels. After the war her guns were removed, and she became a peaceful trader, making voyages from Salem first to the West Indies, later to the Cape of Good Hope, and finally to China, where she was one of the first ships to display the Stars and Stripes. By following her voyages it is possible to obtain a true picture of that romantic period in our history, when diminutive ships, laden with cargoes of rum, fish, cheese, and lumber, sailed for the distant markets of the Indies, and there exchanged these homely products of New England for the spices, teas, and costly fabrics of the East.

The second Grand Turk, named after her famous predecessor, was built in Salem in 1791, and though a ship of only five hundred and sixty tons was nevertheless the largest vessel built in Salem up to that time. She made a voyage to India and one to Russia, and then, being found too large for the trade of the port of Salem, was sold, and no further record of her can be found.

The third Grand Turk, a brig of three hundred tons, was built at Wiscasset, Maine, expressly for use as a privateer in the War of 1812. The

American privateers in that war were fully as effective as the regular navy in bringing England to terms, and none of these private armed ships had a more brilliant record than the Grand Turk. She created tremendous havoc among British shipping and captured many prizes. A few of her logs are preserved, and from these a good idea of life aboard a privateer can be obtained. After the war, she, like the original Grand Turk, became a peaceful trader, and ran between Boston and Mediterranean ports.

Over one hundred years elapsed before another Grand Turk was sighted upon the high seas. The fourth of this name, a three-masted schooner of five hundred tons, was launched at Millbridge, Maine, in 1916. Built just before the rise in prices caused by the World War, she enjoyed to the full the benefit of the correspondingly high freights of that period, and had an active career of eight years trading to the West Indies and along the Atlantic Coast, until she fell a victim to the sunken reefs off the treacherous coast of Yucatan.

The stories of the first three Grand Turks can never be completely told, but by piecing together bits from faded old letters and bills of lading, and

by studying mouldy and discolored ships' logs and account-books, it has been possible to weave a connected narrative which makes those stirring days live again.

NOTE

THE material contained in this book has been taken principally from the letters and business papers of Elias Hasket Derby, the owner of the first two Grand Turks, and from logbooks of those ships, which are preserved in the Essex Institute at Salem, Massachusetts. Papers of the privateer brig Grand Turk owned by the Beverly Historical Society of Beverly, Massachusetts, have also provided much valuable information. William C. Hunter's little book *The Fan Kwae at Canton before Treaty Days* (London, 1882) has been drawn upon for descriptions of life in the early days of the Canton trade, while contemporary newspapers and court records have afforded supplementary material. Other sources are mentioned in the footnotes.

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THE LOG OF THE GRAND TURKS

CHAPTER I

THE STORY OF THE FIRST *GRAND TURK* (1781–1788)

At the time of the American Revolution the town of Salem, Massachusetts, was one of the principal communities in the American Colonies. A soil none too conducive to agriculture, a seashore abounding with fish, and a dense forest making a barrier to inland progress and at the same time providing material for building ships — all these led the first settlers in Salem to turn to ship-building, fishing, and other marine pursuits.

As early as 1660 the English Government had sought to protect the trade of her possessions in America by the famous Navigation Acts, which provided that commerce between the Colonies and England and between the Colonies themselves should be restricted to English and colonial vessels. Thus protected, colonial ships began

to carry an increasing portion of the American commerce, and soon practically controlled the trade between the different British settlements in America and the West Indies. In fact, so rapidly did colonial shipping increase that the jealousy of the mother country was aroused, and various acts of taxation and restriction were placed on the American trade, beginning with the Molasses Act of 1733. This was followed by the Grenville and Townshend Acts of 1764–68, and others, which formed the basis for the slogan 'No taxation without representation,' and which eventually brought on the Revolution.

It was only natural in a mercantile town like Salem that the English trade restrictions and taxes should arouse great discontent, and that from the very beginning of the Revolution the people of Salem should have been most active in the American cause. Their activity increased when British cruisers began to seize American ships, among which were many Salem craft. Although an attempt was early made by the Americans to create some kind of navy, it was easy to see that the best they could do would count for very little against England's tremendous naval power. It was not long after the

battle of Lexington, however, that Washington recognized the powerful latent force the Americans had in their merchant ships and sailors. The ship-owners had already begun to arm their vessels in self-defense, and soon the Government authorities issued licenses to these armed merchantmen 'to make Reprisals on the Enemys of the united Colonies of North America agreeable to the Laws and Regulations of this Country.' Thus, without floating any loans or involving the impecunious Government in any expense whatever, there soon appeared on the high seas a swarm of small American armed merchant ships, which, though a navy of a most informal and independent character, nevertheless soon became a force with which the English had seriously to reckon.

These privateers were generally fitted out by a ship-owner, or several ship-owners jointly, and usually sailed on what is known even to this day in the fisheries as the 'half-lay' or 'square-halves.' That is, the owners provided the ship and her equipment and placed a competent captain in charge; the captain hired his own crew and paid the running expenses of the voyage; the enemy vessels and their cargoes which were

captured on the voyage were brought into an American or allied port, and after a hearing before a civil or maritime court, if the vessel and cargoes were judged lawful prizes, they were sold at auction for account of the captors; the proceeds of the sale were then divided, half to the owners of the vessel and half to the captain and his crew. Although frowned on now as a form of piracy, in those days privateering was looked upon as an effective means of harrying the enemy and at the same time a legitimate though perilous method of lining one's own pockets. Of course, many of the privateers came to grief; lives were lost in these informal and hazardous encounters, and many of the armed ships attacked too strong an adversary and were themselves captured. But it can be safely said that the operations of these American privateers during the Revolution caused a serious blow to British shipping. Incidentally they were the means of greatly enriching many citizens in the seaport towns of the American Colonies.

Of all the merchants and ship-owners of this time, none was more energetic in the support of the American cause, or more active in the fitting out of privateers than Elias Hasket Derby, of

Salem. He was descended from a family of seafaring people, and his father, Richard Derby, after a number of successful trading voyages as captain of small vessels between Salem, the West Indies, and the Spanish Peninsula, had finally amassed a sufficient capital to set up for himself as merchant in Salem, and by 1775 had a fleet of six or seven small brigs, sloops, and schooners regularly engaged in the Spanish and West India trade. About this time Mr. Richard Derby practically retired from the active management of his affairs, and turned them all over to his son, Elias Hasket Derby. The beginning of the Revolution, and the consequent shutting-off of many supplies hitherto obtained from England, caused prices to rise rapidly, and the great demand for these commodities made it necessary to seek them elsewhere. The Derbys therefore despatched their little vessels to the various West India Islands to exchange New England produce for goods which had been sent out there from Europe. The following extract from a letter written by Mr. Derby in February, 1776, to one of his captains in the West Indies gives an idea of the hazardous conditions of trade at that time:

If this letter should meet you at the Mole, you may ship me, by any vessels bound to Cape Ann, Newbury, Ipswich, or near to it, some cotton, cocoa, sugar, molasses, duck, cordage, powder, or any other article you think may answer, as I make no doubt that any goods will make 100 per cent. But do not send any indigo, as that is contrary to the association, but any foreign goods you have a right to bring.

Worsted stockings & Middleing Linen for shirting is at Present much wanted, as is Pins, Silk & Cotton Handkfs. & Writing Paper, all which articles is worth at least 150 per cent, more than common, and £150 Sterling well layd out in such articles will leave more Proffit than any Westindia goods, but they must not come (in a vessel) with an English Clearance, & neither must any of them be taken from Jamaica, as it would be in direct Violation of the Association, which I do not mean to break. . . .

I have ordered Hallett to throw all the Papers over in case he gets taken, but I do not think of loosing her as the Schooner sails very fast. If not taken & if he meets an Easterly Wind, as it will be the right season of the year for it, he will stand a good chance to get into some of our Har-

SALEM HARBOR IN 1790, SHOWING DERBY WHARF AT THE LEFT

bours on the North Shore, & I am well assured if he does well & has a good Cargo of Goods, he will make not less than 100 per cent after Paying the Insurance and charge which at present is high. I have insured the Schooner out & while she lay at the Mole against all Risques at ten per ct. but if she goes to Jamaica it is to be 5 per ct. more, so that the Insurance down will be not less than 100 Dollars. At present I have not made Insurance home as suppose I cannot at this time get it done under 25 per ct. & shall not make any at present for by the last acct. from England it seems they are tired of this unnatural War, but of that you can form a much better judgement than we can here, as it is seldom we have accounts that are to be depended on. . . .

The times at present are such I cannot determine what will be for the best, and must therefore leave it wholly to you, not doubting the business will be conducted with care. Should so large a fleet come on this coast in the spring as is talked of, I should think it not best to ship so much to the Northward or otherwise; but it is now said that commissioners are appointed to come over to accommodate affairs, but I doubt it. I commit you to the Almighty's

protection, not doubting that we shall once more carry on business at Salem in peace and safety.

From your friend

ELIAS HASKET DERBY

Although the schooner mentioned in this letter arrived safely in Salem, and sold her cargo at a great advantage, not all of Mr. Derby's ships were so successful. His schooner, Jamaica Packet, Captain Ingersoll, while on a passage to Salem from Jamaica was captured early in 1776 by a British cruiser and carried into Boston. Mr. Derby wrote of this affair as follows:

'The captain who took him [*i.e.*, Captain Ingersoll] deprived him of all his papers, and kept them until the trial came on, when the bill of stores was missing from the papers. The court condemned one cask of rum and one cask of sugar for want of the bill of stores, but acquitted the vessel and cargo. Captain Ingersoll could not get leave to sell the cargo. He applied, from time to time, to have the interest delivered, and could not succeed; but after a time, and when the enemy were near leaving Boston, he obtained leave to sell so much of his cargo as would be sufficient to repair his vessel, with a

view to leave Boston with the fleet, which he was desirous of doing, hoping thus to save the interest. When the fleet and army were leaving Boston, they came and took most of the rum on board the transports; the soldiers and sailors, and others, came in the time of confusion and cut his sails from the yards, and made them into bags; they cut the hoops from the hogsheads of sugar, and took most of it away. Not being satisfied with that, the day they quitted the town they came and cut the fasts from the wharf, when the schooner drove down river and went ashore on one of the islands, and was there burned by the British, by which I lost better than £3000 sterling.'

Soon after this unfortunate incident two more Derby vessels, northbound from the West Indies for Salem, fell into the hands of the British, and this combination of disasters made Mr. Derby realize that if he wished to keep his ships out of the enemy's hands, and also profitably employed, he must give up the rôle of peaceful trader, and meet the enemy at their own game. On June 13, 1776, the Massachusetts Council issued a commission to Captain Peter Lander to command Mr. Derby's schooner Sturdy Beggar,

of ninety tons, fitted with six carriage guns and a crew of twenty-five men, 'to make reprisals on the enemies of the United States of North America.' This vessel carried no cargo and sailed for no particular port; but set out deliberately to see what British vessels she could find anywhere on the high seas that might be overawed by her six carriage guns and induced to surrender themselves and their cargoes. A diligent search through the dusty records fails to reveal any information on the cruise of the Sturdy Beggar; yet surely a vessel bearing so jaunty a name must have had a fair share of success. At any rate, Mr. Derby was sufficiently encouraged to embark further in privateering, and in September, 1776, in company with another merchant of Salem, he fitted out his West India trader Revenge with twelve guns and sent her off to see what she could find. He was rewarded by having four Jamaica vessels fall prey to the Revenge, yielding '733 hogsheads of sugar, besides other cargo.'

Mr. Derby, however, seems to have been a little cautious at first about going too extensively into this kind of business, and the Sturdy Beggar and Revenge were the only armed ships he sent

out, so far as can be found, during the first two years of the Revolution. But in the fall of 1777 his name appears as owner or part-owner of numerous privateers sailing from Salem, and between that year and 1781 he was interested in no less than twenty-six of these armed ships. As the war progressed, and the demand for many necessities of life increased, Mr. Derby began to send some of his vessels out as letters of marque. These vessels engaged in regular commercial voyages carrying cargoes, but at the same time were fully armed, and held a commission or 'letter of marque' from the Government, authorizing them to capture any enemy ships met on their way.

Up to this time none of the Derby fleet was much over one hundred tons, the usual size for the West India trade. But the success of Mr. Derby's mercantile ventures and the spoils brought in by his privateers had so increased his capital that he became more ambitious, and in the fall of 1780 he placed an order with Thomas Barstow of Hanover, Massachusetts, for a full-rigged ship of three hundred tons, designed as a fast merchantman, but pierced for an armament of twenty-eight guns. Thomas Barstow was

reputed to be one of the best ship-builders in America at that time, and many well-known craft were built at his Two-Oaks Yard in the little town of Hanover on the Massachusetts South Shore. In order that his interests might be properly protected, Mr. Derby engaged Captain James Gibaut, one of his most trusted ship-masters, to go to Hanover to oversee the new vessel's construction. The latter's accounts show that the ship was largely paid for in goods, instead of money. For example, Robert Eels, of Hanover Four Corners, who wrought the iron-work, took his payment in barrels of rum and firkins of butter sent over from Salem by Mr. Derby. The new ship, destined to be one of the most famous that ever sailed from New England ports, was launched in May, 1781, and as she slid down the ways into the narrow waters of the North River she was christened 'Grand Turk.'

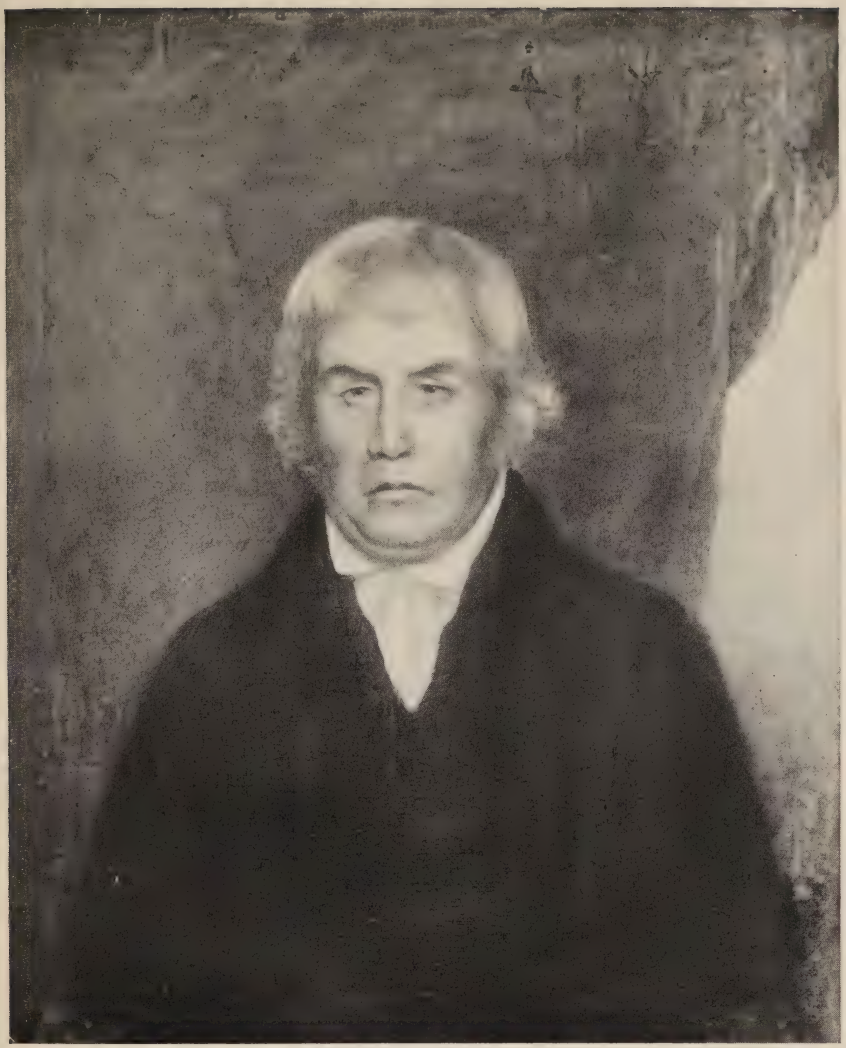
It is a matter of conjecture why Mr. Derby chose this unusual name for his new ship. It may be that he had some particular association with the Island of Grand Turk in the Turks Islands group of the Bahamas. No doubt Derby ships had loaded salt there for New England, as

even now schooners load at that island for the Gloucester fishing industry. But while this may have been the origin of the name, Mr. Derby probably selected it for another reason. In those days the Sultan of Turkey was frequently spoken of as the 'Grand Turk,' and he had the reputation of being the most ferocious of all monarchs. Thus what could be a more awe-inspiring and appropriate name for an armed privateer than that of 'Grand Turk'?

The business of privateering was then at its height. Great numbers of once peaceful merchant seamen and fishermen had found employment on a privateer far more profitable than their former humble callings; and as the Grand Turk was the largest and most strongly armed privateer so far fitted out in Salem, there was little difficulty in obtaining a crew to go in her. In fact, it is said that, within three days after the notices were posted, more than one hundred of the one hundred and twenty men required had signed her articles. On June 13, 1781, a commission was issued to the 'ship Grand Turk of 28-carriage guns and 120 men to cruise against the enemies of these United States,' under the command of Captain Thomas Simmons. The Grand

Turk sailed on her first cruise in the latter part of June; but no details of the voyage remain, other than a statement covering the sale of the British brigs Defiance and Venus, captured by the Grand Turk on this cruise. This account shows the two prizes to have netted £1504, 2*s*., 6*d*., half to Mr. Derby and half to Captain Simmons and his crew.

The next trace of the Grand Turk is found in a commission issued to her on September 29, 1781, to cruise once more 'against the enemies of the United States'; but this time under Captain Joseph Pratt. She sailed on her second voyage October 26, 1781, and, making her way across the Atlantic directly for the enemy's waters, boldly took up her station off the southern coast of Ireland. It was not long before the English ship Mary, homeward bound from Jamaica, hove in sight, and the crew of the Britisher, little expecting to meet an American armed ship off the British Isles, were completely taken aback when a shot from the Grand Turk came whizzing through their rigging. The Yankee privateer presented so formidable an appearance, with her many guns and her deck full of men, that the Mary surrendered without the least resistance,



CAPTAIN JOSEPH PRATT

and in a short time a prize crew from the Grand Turk were swarming up her side and taking charge. The capture was made well in sight of the Irish coast, not far from Queenstown, and therefore the crew of the Mary were told to take to their boats and row for land. Captain Pratt naturally was anxious to get away from so dangerous a locality as quickly as possible, before the British cruisers in the Channel got wind of the capture, and so, with his prize crew on board the Mary, the two vessels laid a course in the direction of Bilbao, on the northern coast of Spain. They had not been long on their way when a small brig was sighted, which upon their approach showed her British colors. Immediately a shot came flying across her bow, as the Grand Turk broke out the Stars and Stripes and bore down upon her. She did not make the least resistance and surrendered at once to this formidable adversary. A prize crew from the Grand Turk boarded her, and found her to be the British brig John & Grace, with a cargo of fish. The three vessels then proceeded on their way toward Bilbao.

Before the Grand Turk left Salem, Mr. Derby had given Captain Pratt a letter of

introduction to Messrs. José Gardoqui & Sons, of Bilbao, with whom the Derbys had done business for thirty years or more, and he had instructed Captain Pratt to take into Bilbao any prizes that might be captured in European waters. To be sure, Spain was at that time technically a neutral, but in view of her alliance with France, which was in turn the ally of the Americans against England, Spain was willing to allow American armed ships the use of her ports. Moreover, the Derbys had never done any business in France and had no connections there; so that it was only natural for Mr. Derby to instruct Captain Pratt to use Bilbao as a base, knowing the Gardoquis would give the Grand Turk's affairs the best attention.

On the 16th of December the Grand Turk and her two prizes anchored in Bilbao Harbor, and Captain Pratt lost no time in paying his respects to the Gardoquis. Regarding his arrival they wrote as follows to Mr. Derby:

'Since the above duplicate of our last salutations to you, Captain Joseph Pratt of your Privateer Ship the Grand Turk has placed in our hands your allways esteemed & agreable favour of the 26th Oct & as he come in safe over our

Barr on the 16th with a couple of good Prizes we most cordially and affectionately congratulate your good self & concerned on this very happy and successfull Event & sincerely wish that before ever he compleats his cruize he may be fortunate enough to send home or here half dozen more.

'One of Capt. Pratt's prizes will in all probability be one of the richest prizes that has been brought here this warr. She is a large ship with upwards of 900 Hogsheads of Sugar some Coffee & Kampeche wood. The Master Informs us that as he Tooke her on the Coast of Ireland so nigh the Land (where he set all her crew ashoure) he had no Time to be Informed of the particulars of her cargoe. She loaded at Jamaica and sailed without Convoy for England & was Captured by your Grand Turk within three leagues of Cork. Capt. Pratt had the prudence to convoy her to this port & on his Navegation Tooke a small Brigg fish loaden bound from Ireland home with boath which he came safe here. . . .'

The Gardoquis now began negotiations for the sale of the prizes and their cargoes, and as there happened to be a demand for the goods, as well as a very active market for the purchase of

vessels of all sorts, the result was that the net proceeds of the sale of the ships and cargoes came to no less than 820,276 reales. This, according to a letter from Captain Pratt, was then equivalent to about $41,000. One half this amount was turned over in cash to Captain Pratt and his adventurous crew, and the other half, less the ship's expenses at Bilbao, was remitted to Mr. Derby in Salem.

The Grand Turk remained in Bilbao Harbor for about three months, while these transactions were being settled. During this period of inactivity in port the crew spent much time ashore, and discipline was hard to maintain, so that when the Grand Turk was ready to sail, Captain Pratt had difficulty in getting his men to put to sea again. A privateer's crew was by no means easy to handle. Such a vessel had to carry several times the number of men necessary for her own manning, in order to provide crews for the prizes captured. This large and often undisciplined and unruly crowd, cooped up as they were in extremely close quarters on a small vessel, were frequently able to assert themselves against the captain's will. Particularly was this so in the Grand Turk's case, where the crew had enjoyed a

profitable cruise and had made enough money to satisfy their wants for the time being, and were not anxious to exchange the pleasures of shore life for the arduous life of the sea. But after the more reckless tars had spent most of their prize money, Captain Pratt was finally able to get his men together, and on March 13, 1782, the Grand Turk once more weighed anchor and set sail.

Good luck still followed her. On May 4, 1782, she arrived in Salem, by way of the West Indies, and reported the capture on her homeward trip of three more British vessels — the schooner Triton, the schooner Primrose, and the brigantine Thomas & Betsy; and from an account showing the settlement of the proceeds of these prizes, dated at Salem, in June, it appears that they netted £3960. It is fairly safe to assume that this one voyage alone more than repaid the Grand Turk's fortunate owner for her cost, and no doubt was the means of setting up many of her crew in comfortable circumstances for the rest of their lives. At the same time she rendered a valuable service to the American cause in harassing British commerce and in carrying the war up to the very shores of Great Britain.

As a result of this most successful voyage there arose an interesting complication, the story of which has come down through several letters from Messrs. Gardoqui to Mr. Derby. On August 6, 1782, about seven months after the Grand Turk had brought her prizes into Bilbao, and three or four months after Gardoqui & Sons had remitted the proceeds of the sales to Mr. Derby, they wrote him that 'without our notice or knowledge we received from the Court of the Commissary of Marine an order to make us pay without Delay the monstrous & exorbitant sum of reales 245,930 as Dutys on the cargoes of Two Prizes the John & Grace and the Mary made by the Grand Turk Capt. Pratt.' This duty amounted to about thirty per cent of the value of the prizes, and as Messrs. Gardoqui had already remitted Mr. Derby the proceeds, far from profiting by handling this successful business for Mr. Derby, they stood to lose a very large sum of money unless he sent them the necessary funds. But Mr. Derby refused to meet their request to pay the duties, and as events turned out it was just as well that he took this stand, as is shown by the following letter written by the Gardoquis some six months later:

BILBAO, *the 4th March* 1783

Elias Haskett Derby, Esqre.

Salem

DEAR SIR

We have the pleasure to acknowledge ourselves Indebted to your always agreable & Esteemed lines of the 2d Octobr & 30th of Decemr last. In Repply whereof must Inform you with Respectt to the Duttys laid on the Two prizes made by the Grand Turk & there cargoes, that no affair of any kind whatsoever In this world has ever given us one fourth of the Trouble vexation & fatigue as this. We never Expected to free ourselves from the repitted orders to pay the Exorbitant Sum laid on them, butt at most to obtain by our Interest at Court a dimminution of said duttys such as 1/4th or at most 1/3d thereof. In these Expectations we resolved to represent to the Prime Ministers of Estatte, Indies, & Finances; (thro' whose prefermments this your House has & is allways Employed in the Execution of every affair that the Ministry wants) our Services to the Crown without the least Interest as they well knew, & accordingly requested that In consideration to them, they might be pleased to free us from the payment

thereof. This representation was sent by us direct to the Ministers with whome we have the Happyness to correspond, butt being necessary that all our friends at Court should also use their Interest for the purpose, we made the best efforth & Employed every one of them with orders to spend any money to obtain a happy End. In consequence of this resolution, we had the very high satisfaction of receiving a letter from His Exelency the Prime Minister of Finances, that the services of this Your House to the Crowne having been fully represented to the King by him & the rest of the Ministers, His Majesty In consideration to them had been pleased to free the Two prizes & their cargoes of the whole dutys laid latterly on them. On which little Expected butt happy Event we most cordially congratullatte you, & are fully satisfied and pleased that our Services to the Crown have been the means of saving you & Captors such a large Sum of money. Besides the Immense Trouble that we have had in the cource of this affair haveing been obliged to dispurse here & at Court riales 29,267 of vellore, we have placed this Sum to your debitt which beg you creditting us for. Your most obt. & hble servts

José Gardoqui & Sons

To this letter Mr. Derby replied that the transaction had been closed on his books many months before, and that the money spent by the Gardoquis for influence at Court was no affair of his. Moreover, he was dissatisfied with the rate of exchange used by the Spanish firm in sending him the original remittance, and felt that they owed him more than the sum they were demanding.

The dispute dragged on for several years, and in 1785 Don Diego Gardoqui arrived in New York as Spanish Ambassador to the United States, and wrote Mr. Derby that he needed funds with which to buy a house and to establish himself, and asked that the old debt be paid to him in New York. Mr. Derby, however, continued obstinate, and throughout his life refused to settle; and even after his death, the next generation of Gardoquis were still vainly trying, in 1802, to obtain settlement from Mr. Derby's executors. So far as known, the account was never paid, and as a result of this incident Mr. Derby broke off his business relations with this great mercantile house which could influence the decision of King Charles III of Spain, and the

Derbys' long and prosperous trade with Bilbao ended.[1]

But to return once more to the Grand Turk. As already related, she arrived in Salem from her most successful second cruise on May 9, 1782. In July she set out again to comb the seas for further spoils, and returned in September with two prizes, the ship Ann and the brigantine Rambler. The statement of settlement of the sale of these two prizes is the only record extant regarding this third cruise.

In the fall of 1782 the Grand Turk once more sailed from Salem in command of Captain Pratt, and this time made her way for the congenial waters of the West Indies. When only a few days out, she intercepted and captured the British ship Minerva, which was sent back to Salem

[1] The house of José Gardoqui & Sons, of Bilbao, figured very prominently in Spanish-American affairs at the time of our Revolution. They built up a large commerce with American colonial merchants prior to the Revolution, and, in 1779, taking advantage of the Spanish friendship for the American cause, they wrote to the American Government, drawing attention to Bilbao as a free port, and offering their services in connection with purchase of supplies for the American Government. During the Revolution the Gardoquis looked after the business of many American privateers at Bilbao. That the Gardoquis were an influence in Spanish politics is borne out by the letter just quoted, and also by the fact that one of their family was the first Spanish Ambassador to the United States.

under a prize crew. On December 17th the Grand Turk arrived at Saint Pierre, Martinique, accompanied by the brig Mary, a prize which she had taken a few days before. Our alliance with France made this French island a friendly base for privateering operations, and the Grand Turk's affairs were ably managed there by Messrs. Brenton, Shattuck and Jarvis, a firm of Americans who had established themselves at Martinique to look after the interests of the great number of American vessels which began trading regularly with the French islands after the Revolution had made all the British West Indies enemy country. The brig Mary was one of the best captures made by the Grand Turk, and strangely enough bore the same name as the famous rich prize carried into Bilbao. This Mary was bound from England to Jamaica. She had a fine cargo of English dry goods and foodstuffs — in fact, the very articles then most wanted not only in the West Indies but in America; so that the vessel and her cargo met with a ready sale at Saint Pierre, and netted the sum of 102,335 livres.

The Grand Turk remained in port only long enough for her crew to enjoy a French Christmas,

during which, no doubt, much of the recently divided prize money, was left behind in the cafés of Saint Pierre. On December 26th the ship resumed her cruise, and as the cloud-capped peak of Mont Pelée was just beginning to fade into the distance, half a dozen sail were sighted coming out from Dominica. Captain Pratt ascended the topgallant mast, and with his spyglass soon made out the approaching craft to be a fleet of British frigates, which on sighting the American ship, put about in pursuit. Daring as the Grand Turk was, this array of enemy ships was too formidable to risk encountering. All sail was therefore set, and, leaning well over to the favoring trade-wind, the Yankee privateer made every effort to escape. Fortunately, the lines laid down in the Hanover mould-loft by the old master-builder, Thomas Barstow, gave to the Grand Turk a clear, smooth run, and it very soon became apparent that the bluff British frigates were no match for the speedy Salem craft. By dusk the enemy ships were hull down astern; but so rashly had Captain Pratt crowded on sail in order to effect his escape that the fore topgallant mast was badly sprung, and it was thought prudent to put into the nearest friendly

port to repair the damage. The Grand Turk was by this time close to the island of Montserrat, and thither Captain Pratt laid his course. This beautiful island has always been a British possession except for two short intervals when the French held it, and, luckily for the Grand Turk, the year 1783 was one of the times when it was occupied by the French, so that it offered a friendly and convenient port of refuge. After several days spent at Montserrat in repairing rigging, the Grand Turk once more set sail, and a few days later intercepted the little Barbados sloop Polly, which was easily captured, and which was sent into Saint Pierre, Martinique, under a prize crew. Besides a cargo of West India produce, the Polly had on board nine negro slaves, who were being carried from one British island plantation to another, and when the Polly and her small cargo were put up for auction at Saint Pierre, the unfortunate slaves were likewise offered for sale. The statement of accounts shows that while the Polly and her cargo of goods netted 12,324 livres, her human cargo netted only 8695 livres. So far as known, this is the only case in which Mr. Derby ever in any way dealt in slaves. But even in this case he can

have known nothing of the matter until he received the accounts of the proceeds, long after the slaves had been sold and scattered among the plantations of Martinique.

Toward the end of January the Grand Turk put into Saint Pierre again to obtain supplies and to give her crew a little opportunity for recreation with their French friends. On February 5th she sailed once more in search of fresh prey. For about a month she cruised around the Windward Islands; but she did not find any victims, as the British frigates were still in the neighborhood, protecting their more valuable merchant ships, while the little island sloops remained in port. There is a record of the Grand Turk putting into Basse Terre, Guadeloupe, on February 22d for refreshment; and soon afterwards her good luck seems to have returned, for early in March the British snow Sally & Polly and the British ships Echo and Active were added to her string of captures. The Active was ordered to Salem under a prize crew and the others were triumphantly brought into Saint Pierre. The usual auction then took place; the Sally & Polly netting 10,740 livres and the Echo, 16,324 livres.

But now came the best day of the Grand Turk's cruise. On March 12th, while she was standing off Saint Kitts, a British ship, about her own size, hove in sight, and Captain Pratt gave chase. He rapidly overhauled the Britisher, and as soon as she came in range let fly with his Long Tom, which sent a shot crashing across the stranger's bow. The English vessel immediately hove to, and awaited the boarding party from the Grand Turk. She proved to be the ship Pompey of London, four hundred tons, bound from England to the West Indies with a very valuable cargo of provisions. As she was armed with twenty guns, Captain Pratt thought it strange that she did not offer any resistance, but on boarding her he discovered the reason. The Captain of the Pompey explained that when he left London on February 11th, the preliminaries of peace between England and the United States had been signed, and that therefore he had made no resistance upon meeting the American privateer. This report of peace was the first that Captain Pratt had received, and coming as it did from enemy sources, he was inclined to be skeptical. Acting, therefore, on the principle that a bird in the hand is worth two in

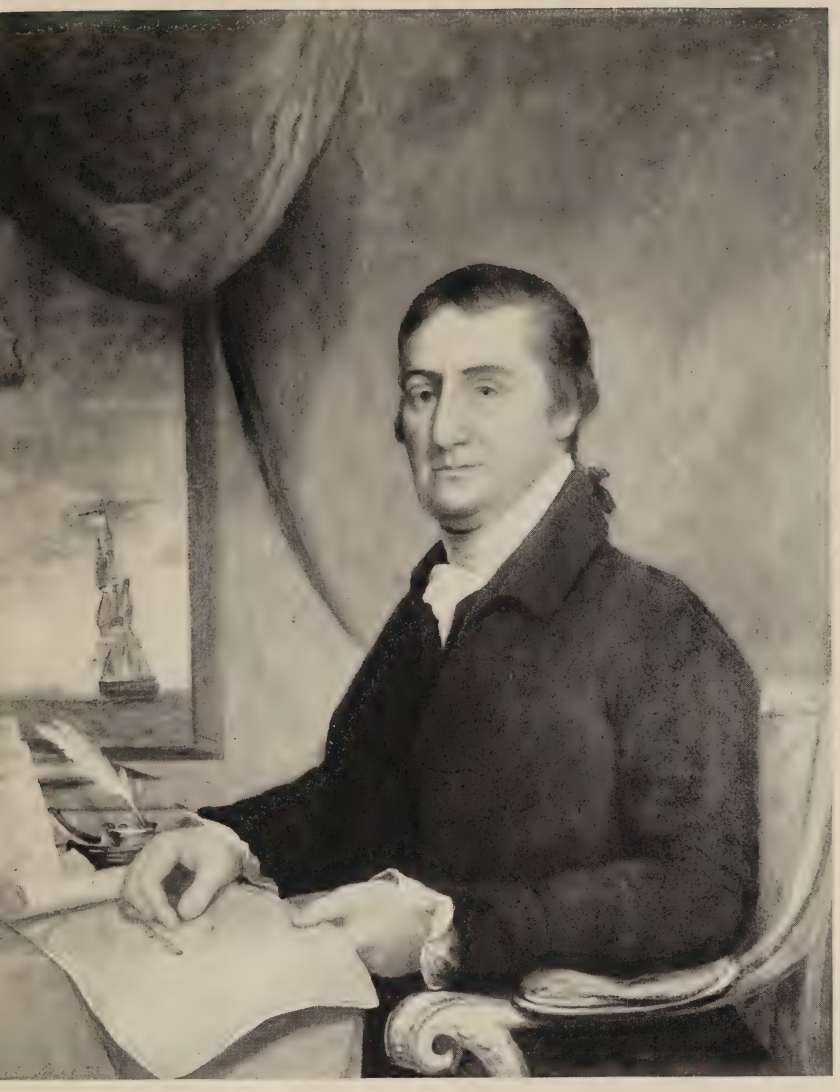
the bush, he told the Pompey's crew to take to their boats and row for Saint Kitts, which was in plain sight to leeward; and putting a prize crew on the Pompey, he despatched her then and there to Salem. She was an unusually fine ship, and he thought Mr. Derby might like to keep her. At any rate, Captain Pratt felt that the Salem Court was in a better position than he was to decide whether peace had or had not been declared, and whether or not the Pompey was a just prize. As a matter of fact, an armistice between England and the United States had been arranged in Paris on January 20, 1783; but this information did not reach America till a month later, and it was not until March 24th that Congress issued orders recalling 'all armed vessels cruising under commissions from the United States of America.' The Pompey reached Salem on April 3d, and apparently was considered a fair capture, as the Court ordered her sold for account of the Grand Turk's owners and crew. She was bought by George Crowninshield, merchant of Salem, who renamed her America; and for many years she ran in the merchant service from Salem, being the first of the three Americas owned by the Crowninshield family.

The Pompey was the last of the Grand Turk's captures. After despatching her to Salem, Captain Pratt returned once more to Saint Pierre, Martinique; probably for the purpose of verifying the rumor that peace had been declared. The news of the armistice must have reached Martinique soon afterwards, because Captain Pratt settled his accounts with Messrs. Brenton, Shattuck and Jarvis, and on April 7th set sail on his homeward voyage. On April 30th the Grand Turk dropped anchor in Salem Harbor, and terminated her career as a privateer.

In the short period of one year and ten months the Grand Turk captured no less than sixteen British vessels, and thus did a great service to the country in harassing British commerce. As all her prizes were brought safely into port, the result of her four cruises, in the form of ships, cargo, and specie, added materially to the wealth of the new country at the expense of the old. It is impossible to compute the total value of her spoils as the accounts of sales of some of her prizes are missing, while the vagaries of exchange in those days make it difficult to estimate the equivalent in our money of the prize sales of which there is record. Yet when it is

realized that the Pompey alone was worth as much as the Grand Turk herself; that the Pompey was only one of several good-sized ships captured, and that in nearly all cases the cargoes were of as much value as the ships themselves, it may be safely said that in less than two years the Grand Turk paid for herself many times over. Furthermore, the Grand Turk was only one of Mr. Derby's privateers, and many of his smaller vessels enjoyed a fair measure of success as well. Thus, while aiding his country's cause by capturing English ships, Mr. Derby was at the same time amassing a very considerable fortune of his own. The close of the war found him the owner of three good-sized ships and a number of brigs and schooners, in place of the half-dozen little craft with which he had traded to the West Indies and Spain in colonial days.

Samuel Curwen writes of Salem at about this time as follows: 'Those who five years ago were the meaner people are now, by a strange revolution become almost the only men of power, riches, and influence. The Cabots of Beverly, who, you know, had but five years ago a very moderate share of property, are now said to be by far the most wealthy in New England; Has-



ELIAS HASKETT DERBY

ket Derby claims the second place in the list.' He adds, 'E. H. Derby's province tax is £11,000, and his neighbors complain that he is not half taxed.'[1]

As a result of the Revolution, trading conditions had now taken on a new character. Prior to the war, colonial vessels had shared with the British the monopoly of trade to the British West India Islands; but when the United States achieved her independence, her vessels, like those of other foreign countries, were excluded from these British islands. American ships were, however, still welcomed at Guadeloupe and Martinique, the West India possessions of their late allies, the French, and Mr. Derby therefore decided to send the Grand Turk on a trading voyage to the French islands.

From the time of the first settlements, the various European nations had looked on their West India colonies as their most valuable possessions overseas. Slaves were imported in large numbers from Africa to work the sugar plantations, and there grew up a system of great estates owned by a small but very wealthy aristocracy, and cultivated exclusively by negro

[1] S. Curwen's *Journal and Letters*, p. 234.

slaves. So great were the profits to be made from sugar that the people of these islands devoted practically their entire attention to the raising of this one crop and to the making of its by-products, rum and molasses, with the result that nearly all the necessities of life had to be imported. Manufactured articles, dry goods, and the like, were all obtained from Europe; but from the earliest times the colonies on the American mainland supplied these islands with certain of their most important necessities. New England shipped great quantities of salt codfish and mackerel, which formed the principal diet of the negro slaves, and she also supplied the barrels and hogsheads in which the sugar and molasses were exported. Lumber and shingles were likewise sent out to make plantation houses beneath the palm trees of the West Indies. The homely products of the New England farms, such as flour, onions, potatoes, apples, beef, and cheese, all found a ready market in the West Indies.

The Grand Turk had returned from her last privateering voyage in the spring of 1783, and during the summer Mr. Derby removed most of her guns and refitted her holds and 'tween-decks

to carry cargo, instead of ammunition and stores. While this was being done, he began to accumulate a cargo suitable for the French West India market. This took some time, as the Grand Turk was fully three times as large as the little sloops and schooners with which the Derbys had traded to the West Indies before the Revolution. Mr. Derby did not solicit shipments from exporters to be carried for freight money; but he himself bought and owned the entire cargo, which he collected from many sources. Codfish and mackerel were purchased from fish merchants of Gloucester and Marblehead. Flour, potatoes, apples, cheese, and beef were bought from farmers in the neighboring districts, while boards, shingles, empty hogsheads, and hoops came from the sawmills of New Hampshire. The goods were gradually assembled in the warehouses on Derby Wharf, and then finally stowed in the holds and 'tween-decks of the Grand Turk, which had now been transformed from a warship to a peaceful merchantman. By the middle of September the Grand Turk was ready for sea, and lay at anchor in Salem Harbor, with sails bent and cargo all loaded. The manifest of this cargo reads as follows:

Invoice of goods shipt by Elias Hasket Derby on his own account and Risk on board of the Ship Grand Turk Saml. Williams Master & consignd. to said Master for Sales and Returns, viz:

To 128 Hhds. cod
To 2 Do scale
To 160 Barrels of Flour
To 70 " Mackeral
To 120 Do of Onyons
To 53 Do of Potato
To 55 ms. Boards
To 299 Shaken Hoghd.
To 12 Cask Brandy
To 114 Cheeses
To 3000 Dollars Cash
To 60 Barl Oyl
To 5500 Bunches Onyons
To 11 Barrels of Apples
To 82 ms Shingles
To 2880 Bdl. of Hopes
To 8 BB Beef
To 50 Hats

Captain Pratt, who commanded the ship during her successful privateering voyages, apparently had earned a comfortable retirement; for he does not appear to have gone out in the Grand Turk again after she changed her rôle to that of peaceful trader. The command was given to Captain Samuel Williams, while two mates, nine sailors, a cook, and a boy made up a crew

sufficient to enable Captain Williams to handle the ship. This was a striking contrast to the complement of one hundred and twenty who manned the Grand Turk when she was a privateer. Mr. Derby's sailing orders to Captain Williams give a good idea of the operation of a West India trading voyage of that time:

SALEM 24 *Sepr* 1783

CAPT SAML WILLIAMS

The Ship Grand Turk of which you have the Command being in all respects ready for Sea, I do advise & Order you to come to sail & make the best of your way for Martinique & there if you cannot find better Market sell the most of your Cargo for Cash & there or at Guardalope load the Ship with Sugar Molass^{s} Cocoa & Cotton for Salem — unless you can do anything to more advantage with the ship. Provided you conclude to come Home with the Ship you might make the greatest dispech as I suppose it likely to meet a good market for Cotton at Home two months from this date. Or if at Windward the Market is exceedingly bad & you find you are allowd to trade at Jamaica then you have my leave to Proceed there, to sell your Cargo, & there load

the ship with Rum Sugar Hides pimento & ginger, according as the Price may be, but the greatest part of the Cargo must be in rum. If you trade at Jamaica, on the passage Home I would have you stop at Charles Town So Carolina, & there if you can get three Shillings Sterling for the Rum sell it & load the ship with New Rice for Salem.

If in the West Indies you find you can purchase any goods so as to make 25 or 30 per ct. profit, then you have my leave to draw on Champion & Dickerson for five Hundred Pounds Sterling & if you Cannot then you may draw on me for that sum at 20 or 30 Days Sight. In the room of drawing on Champion & Dickerson Provided you go to Jamaica if Mr. Dalhere is there apply to him about the four Protested Bills of Mine, & if Possible make Sale of them. If he is not there, know if there has been any money paid on those Bills. Bring me a Barrel of Oranges, a Barrel of yams a Pot of ginger & a Pot of Sweatmeets. Not having to ad, I commend you to the Almighty's protection and Remain your Friend

ELIAS HASKET DERBY

I do not mean the above as Positive Orders. You hereby have my leave to Proceed in any way different that you by Calculation shall find more for my advantage. If you Cannot at any rate make Sale of the Protested Bills at Jamaica, if Mr. Delhere is there, bring me such Papers from the office in Jamaica as will empower me to sell the Interest in London.

On September 24, 1783, the Grand Turk weighed anchor and stood out of Salem Harbor, bound for Martinique and Guadeloupe on her first voyage as a merchantman. No record is left of this voyage, but it can be safely assumed that Captain Williams disposed of the cargo of New England goods in the West Indies, and with the proceeds purchased for Mr. Derby a return lading of molasses, rum, and, let us hope, the desired 'barrel of yams' and 'pot of ginger.' On April 7, 1784, the Grand Turk arrived back in Salem and her cargo was unloaded into Mr. Derby's warehouse, and then gradually sold by him to his many different customers. It is difficult to figure how great were Mr. Derby's profits from such a voyage, nor is it likely that he himself could actually compute the profit of any

individual trading voyage. He was continually buying commodities in many different markets, and he frequently held goods in his warehouse for long periods before selling them. The brandy which he shipped out to Martinique in the Grand Turk might have been purchased by him in Spain some years before, while some of the molasses brought in by the Grand Turk from Guadeloupe might have been sent later from Salem by coasting schooner to New York, to meet a special demand there for that commodity.

The Grand Turk's voyage to Martinique and Guadeloupe must have been successful, since Mr. Derby apparently despatched her during the summer of 1784 on a second voyage to the same islands, under Captain Silsbee. No details remain of the voyage itself, but in the fall of 1784 the Grand Turk was back again in Salem, and Mr. Derby was making ambitious plans to send her to a port hitherto unvisited by any Salem ship.

Previous to the time of the Revolution, American vessels had not ventured beyond certain fairly well-defined trades. The West Indies had been their most familiar cruising ground, although they were also well known in the ports

of the Spanish Peninsula, the Azores, Canary Islands, and the British Isles. This commerce had all been carried on with little sloops, schooners, and brigs, rarely over one hundred tons; no bigger than a fishing schooner of to-day. To be sure, the products of other parts of the world found their way into the American Colonies; but they usually came by the way of England or else direct in English bottoms. For over two centuries, England had been carrying on a trade with the markets of the Orient; but this commerce was entirely in the hands of the British East India Company, which held from the Crown a monopoly of that trade. No other British company or individual might trade in the Orient. Thus the tea which was thrown into Boston Harbor at the historic Boston Tea-Party had been brought from Canton to Boston by the British East India Company. When, however, the Revolution made the United States a free and independent nation, American merchants, being no longer British subjects, were free to trade wherever they might, subject only to the regulations of the particular place with which they traded.

In February, 1784, a group of New York merchants had despatched the ship Empress of

China with a cargo of American products for Canton, there to be exchanged for teas such as had hitherto found their way to this country only in the British East India Company's vessels. Mr. Derby likewise was looking toward other distant markets. In June, 1784, he cleared his ship Light Horse from Salem for Saint Petersburg, Russia, with a cargo composed largely of West India sugar. This ship was the first to display the Stars and Stripes in the Baltic Sea. Soon afterwards the Grand Turk returned from her second West India trading trip, and Mr. Derby forthwith resolved to send her on a pioneering voyage to quite another part of the world.

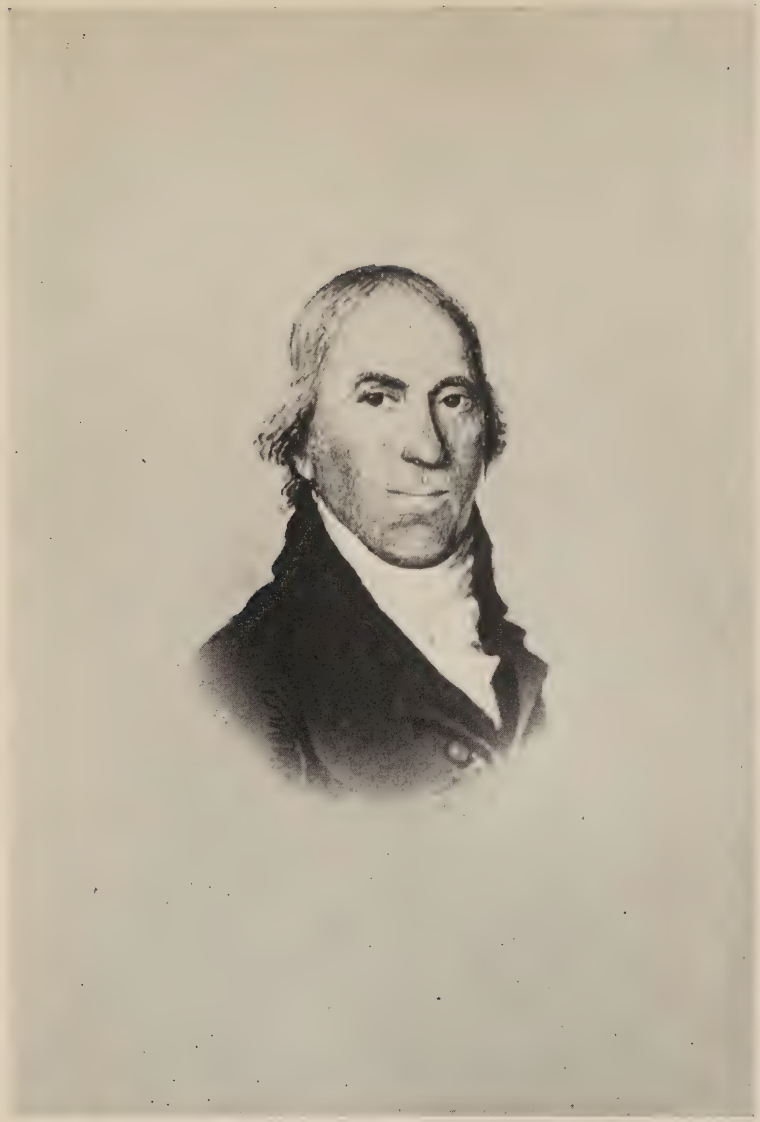
At the Cape of Good Hope there had been a Dutch settlement, since the middle of the seventeenth century, which was used as a regular port of call for the ships of the Dutch East India Company on their voyages between the East Indies and Holland. It occurred to Mr. Derby that if he sent a vessel out to the Cape, it might be possible to purchase consignments of teas from these East India ships, and thus obtain a cargo of this commodity, for which there was a great demand in America, without having to go

all the way to the Orient for it. He therefore decided to load the Grand Turk with goods which he hoped would meet a ready market at the Cape of Good Hope, and with the proceeds of this cargo, supplemented with some specie, he expected to secure a homeward lading of teas. He accordingly began once more to accumulate an outward cargo for the Grand Turk. This time one of the principal items was rum, a considerable part of which might well have been brought into Salem by the Grand Turk on her last voyage from the West Indies. There was also a large consignment of tobacco in hogsheads which had come from Virginia in one of Mr. Derby's trading schooners, and the balance was made up of sugar from the West Indies, oil, tar, pork in barrels, beef, flour, and cheese. When all was loaded on the Grand Turk the value of the cargo stood at £5390. For this voyage, the longest as yet undertaken by a Derby ship, Mr. Derby selected as commander Captain Jonathan Ingersoll, who had sailed for him a number of times in the West India trade; and the appointment was a very wise one, as events proved. Just before the ship's departure, Mr. Derby gave Captain Ingersoll a strong-box containing

ten thousand Spanish dollars with which to supplement the proceeds of his outward cargo when purchasing a return lading at the Cape.

On November 27, 1784, the Grand Turk sailed on her long voyage to the southern tip of Africa, and about three months later, in February, 1785, she anchored in Table Bay at the Cape of Good Hope. Captain Ingersoll then began to make arrangements to sell his cargo, but apparently he did not meet with as much success as Mr. Derby had hoped. On March 9th, the crew of the Grand Turk were surprised to see an American ship coming into the harbor, and as she rounded to and dropped anchor close to the Grand Turk, she proved to be the Empress of China, homeward bound from her pioneer voyage to Canton. In his journal, Major Samuel Shaw, supercargo of the Empress of China, writes as follows regarding the Derby ship:

'Captain Ingersoll's object was to sell rum, cheese, salt provisions, chocolate, loaf sugar, butter, &c., the proceeds of which, in money, with a quantity of ginseng, and some cash brought with him, he intended to invest in Bohea tea; but as the ships bound to Europe are not allowed to break bulk on the way, he was dis-



CAPTAIN JONATHAN INGERSOLL

appointed in his expectations of procuring that article, and sold his ginseng for two-thirds of a Spanish dollar a pound, which is twenty per cent better than the silver money of the Cape. He intended remaining a short time to purchase fine teas in the private trade, allowed the officers on board India ships, and then to sail to the coast of Guinea, to dispose of his rum, &c., for ivory and gold-dust, thence, without taking a single slave, to proceed to the West Indies, and purchase sugar and cotton, with which he would return to Salem. Notwithstanding the disappointment in the principal object of the voyage and the consequent determination to go to the coast of Guinea, his resolution not to endeavor to retrieve it by purchasing slaves did the captain great honor, and reflected equal credit upon his owner, who, he assured me, would rather sink the whole capital employed than directly or indirectly be concerned in so infamous a trade.' [1]

Although Captain Ingersoll was able to dispose of most of his provisions and foodstuffs at fairly good prices, he was disappointed in his plans for purchasing teas and other East India

[1] *Journals of Major Samuel Shaw* (edited by Josiah Quincy).

goods. On April 8, 1785, he wrote as follows to Mr. Derby:

'In my last dated the 13th ult. you will find this port is Calculated only to supply Ships bound Too and from India and not purchases of Cargos as the port receives all supplies by the Company from Europe and Batave and exports nothing but bad wines, not fit for any markit but this. Sum days after my last, I sold most of the Cargo (excepting Rum) and was to sale in one day from this to the Coast of Africa to make sale of the rum; but upon the arrival of the ship Calcutta, East Indiaman, Capt. Thomson, who I went to see upon his landing, as I had dun all the other Commanders to See if they wanted anything, or had anything to Sell — Captn. Thomson Propos'd to barter sum of his Property for all my Rum. After deliberating sum time upon the proposition we came to the following Turms.'

These 'Turms' were as follows: The British captain offered to purchase from Captain Ingersoll all of the rum on board the Grand Turk for £3097, which showed a fair profit over the cost in Salem, and in return he agreed to give Captain Ingersoll, out of his private venture in the Calcutta's cargo, two hundred chests of the best

Hyson tea at £3000, together with a consignment of nankeens and sateens valued at £940. At the same time it was arranged that the Grand Turk should deliver the rum for Captain Thompson at the Island of Saint Helena. This Island, far out in the middle of the South Atlantic, was a regular stopping-place for the British East India Company's ships on their long and tedious voyages to and from the Orient, and Captain Thompson, having called there frequently, realized that a consignment of New England rum would meet with a ready sale among the garrison and inhabitants of that isolated spot. Thus the captain of the British East Indiaman saw a chance to make a good profit for himself by exchanging his private venture of teas and nankeens for the Grand Turk's rum. Captain Ingersoll naturally was greatly pleased at this favorable turn to his affairs. He had succeeded in the meantime in selling the rest of the cargo brought from Salem at prices showing a small profit above their Salem costs, and so, having transferred two hundred chests of tea and the nankeens and sateens from the East India ship, he set sail on April 13, 1785, from the Cape of Good Hope, and laid a course across the South Atlantic for Saint

Helena. In his strong-box he still had the ten thousand Spanish dollars given him by Mr. Derby, and in addition had the equivalent of £2400 in rijks dollars, received for his sales at the Cape.

On April 30th, after a run of seventeen days, the mountainous peaks of the lonely island, made famous by Napoleon's exile, hove in sight, and as the Grand Turk rounded to in the anchorage, she displayed the first American flag ever seen in this far-away place. Here she lay for five days, while the hogsheads and puncheons of rum were lifted out of the hold and taken ashore in lighters. On May 5th she once more set sail and continued on her way across the Atlantic. Captain Ingersoll had decided to round out his trip by stopping in the West Indies, that familiar trading ground for Salem ship-masters, where he hoped to invest profitably the money still in the strong-box in his cabin. On June 2d, just four weeks after leaving Saint Helena, the Grand Turk came in round the steep and verdant shores of Dominica, and hove to in the roadstead off the town of Rousseau. Here Captain Ingersoll found a schooner which was about to sail for New Haven, Connecticut, and by her he sent a letter to Mr. Derby, advis-

ing him of his arrival in the West Indies and of his intention to lay out the cash which he had on board in rum and sugar for Salem. He then immediately brought the Grand Turk about, and, crossing the narrow channel which separates the beautiful islands of Dominica and Martinique, came to anchor at Saint Pierre, where the Grand Turk had made her headquarters during her privateering operations two years before. Here the ship lay for a few days while her shrewd captain interviewed the various merchants of the place, to get an idea of the state of the markets in the West Indies. Evidently he received information that rum and sugar could be obtained more advantageously at the neighboring island of Grenada, for the next day he got under way and continuing southward he sailed into the landlocked *carénage* of Saint Georges, the principal port of that island.

Grenada, like all the other West Indies, had frequently changed its nationality during the many wars between the great European powers. Originally appropriated by the Spanish, it was first settled by the French, who held it during most of its early history, and therefore nearly all of its white inhabitants were French. In 1762,

however, the British captured the place, only to lose it to France again in 1779. But in 1783, two years before the Grand Turk's arrival, it had been restored to England by the Treaty of Versailles. Yet in spite of the British rule, the plantations and the business of the place were still largely in the hands of the French planters and merchants, who were only too glad to trade with their recent allies, the Americans. Captain Ingersoll went ashore and began negotiations for a cargo of rum and sugar for the Grand Turk; but the local merchants, learning that he had on board a consignment of China teas, expressed a desire to purchase some of it. Captain Ingersoll had intended to take the tea to Salem; but finding the Grenada merchants eager to buy this commodity, he saw an opportunity to make a profitable turn. He therefore set a price which would net him over one hundred per cent profit on the cost of the tea at the Cape of Good Hope, and had no difficulty in selling at £34 apiece 164 chests which had cost him but £15 each.

The bringing of China teas into British territories by any one except the British East India Company was prohibited, and so an American ship had no right to land such goods at the

THE HARBOR OF ST. GEORGES, GRENADA

English colony of Grenada. Moreover, the British Navigation Acts excluded all except English ships from the trade of their West India colonies. It was not surprising, therefore, that, while Captain Ingersoll was making preparations to discharge the tea which he had so successfully sold, the British customs authorities at the island suddenly ordered him to leave the port immediately. He informed the officials that his ship was leaking, and that he had put in there for repairs; but this ruse failed to deceive them, and they threatened to seize the Grand Turk unless she quitted the port without delay. The captain, however, was undaunted by this turn of affairs, and, although he had to leave Grenada without discharging his tea, he was determined not to lose the profitable business he had arranged.

Near the northern end of the Lesser Antilles is the little island of Saint Eustatia, or 'Statia,' as it is generally called. This island has always been a Dutch colony. Not being particularly adapted to agriculture, it never became an important sugar producer, like the other islands in the West Indies, and in fact might never have been known to history had not the Dutch hit upon a way of transforming this unpromising little place into a

thriving trade center. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries England jealously guarded her West India colonies, surrounding them with restrictions designed to keep their commerce entirely to herself, and discouraging the ships of all other nations from trading at their ports. France and Spain to a certain extent adopted the same policy. The Dutch, on the other hand, at an early date turned this situation to their own advantage. They let it be known that at Statia the ships of any nation were free to come and buy and sell the products of all parts of the world. Thus this little island early became a great commercial *entrepôt*, and many a wealthy resident of The Hague to-day is living on a fortune founded by his great-grandfather in the free trade of Statia.

Consequently, when the British customs officials at Grenada interrupted Captain Ingersoll's negotiations, he bethought himself of the advantages offered at Statia as a way out of his difficulties. He conferred with the French merchants at Grenada and succeeded in arranging to have them take delivery of the tea at the Dutch island. He furthermore agreed to buy from them, delivered at Statia, as much rum and sugar, at

the current price, as his funds permitted. Captain Ingersoll still had the ten thousand Spanish dollars which he had carried with him all the way from Salem to the Cape of Good Hope and back to the West Indies, as well as about £2400 covering his sales at the Cape. Moreover, the sales of his tea to the Grenada merchants netted him about £6000 more; so that he was able to buy a cargo not only for the Grand Turk, but for another ship as well. He therefore arranged that the Grenada merchants should ship his rum and sugar by island schooner to Statia, and he agreed in turn to send back to them from Statia the tea which they had purchased. These transactions completed, he again set sail, on June 9th, having remained only four days at Grenada. Favored by the prevailing trade winds, he arrived at Statia a few days later and anchored there to await the coming of his cargo.

To-day Statia lies isolated and forgotten. Only an occasional island sloop or a Dutch man-of-war on its annual inspection trip ever touches at its sleeping port. The warehouses, which once were filled to overflowing with merchandise from east and west, have yielded to the tropic growth and are gradually crumbling away. But when

the Grand Turk dropped anchor there, in 1785, the roadstead was crowded with busy shipping, and the docks were piled high with merchandise from every corner of the globe.

Toward the end of June an island schooner arrived from Grenada with the first consignment of Captain Ingersoll's rum, and as soon as this had been taken on board the Grand Turk, as many chests of tea as the little schooner could carry were transferred to her hold. A few days later a second schooner arrived, and this was followed, in a week or so, by another, bringing more rum and sugar. By the middle of July, the Grand Turk had taken on board all the cargo that she could accommodate, while the 164 chests of tea had been discharged and were on their way back to Grenada. Her manifest now showed the unsold portion of the teas, nankeens, and sateens loaded at the Cape of Good Hope standing at £593, and rum and sugar loaded at Statia, valued at £6206. But this was by no means all the rum and sugar that Captain Ingersoll had contracted for, and he therefore decided to stay where he was until he could arrange to ship the remainder of his purchases. He accordingly turned over the command of the Grand Turk to his first mate,

and despatched her on July 16th to Salem. Captain Ingersoll now cast about to find a means of getting his remaining cargo home, and hearing of a British brig, named the Lark, open for charter, he arranged to have her go to Grenada to load what she could. The Lark took on £1503 worth of rum and sugar, and, in order not to arouse the suspicions of the British customs authorities at Grenada, she cleared from that island for Statia. Then, upon arriving at the Dutch port, without unloading any cargo, she cleared again for Salem. The balance of the rum came in small craft, and was held at Statia awaiting reshipment north. Fortunately, before Captain Ingersoll had made any shipping arrangements for this remaining cargo, Mr. Derby's ship Atlantic, while on a trading voyage through the islands, arrived one day in the roadstead at Statia. As she had sufficient space, Captain Ingersoll seized this opportunity to ship home the rest of his purchases, and the rum and sugar, valued at £1564, were placed on board the Atlantic, and he himself took passage in her. Captain Ingersoll had already sent so much rum and sugar to Salem that he feared to overstock that market with a further consignment. He therefore decided to lay a course for

New York, where he hoped better prices would obtain. The Atlantic arrived a few weeks later in New York, and the cargo was sold at a good profit.

In the meantime, the Grand Turk had reached Salem, on July 26, 1785, after a passage of only eleven days from the West Indies, and after an absence of eight months from Salem. Captain Ingersoll had sailed from home with goods and cash to the amount of £8400; and after he had sold his outward cargo at the Cape of Good Hope, his rum at Saint Helena, and his teas at Grenada, he had increased his capital sufficiently to purchase homeward cargoes for the Grand Turk, the Atlantic, and the Lark, costing £13,000. It is impossible to tell what amount these cargoes eventually brought in America because of Mr. Derby's methods for disposing of his imports. It was his custom to sell his goods to many different buyers, and much he held in his warehouses for months or even for years. He often used what had been brought in by one ship as part of the outward lading for another. It is safe to assume, however, that the rum and sugar were sold at good advantage on arrival in America; so that the net result of the Grand Turk's voyage might

easily have been a profit of one hundred per cent, or even more, on the original outlay.

Thus encouraged by this pioneering voyage, Mr. Derby decided to venture even further afield. His object in sending the Grand Turk to the Cape of Good Hope had been to barter his New England products for East India goods; but, as has been seen, the custom of that port did not permit much trade of this sort. Indeed, had it not been for Captain Ingersoll's chance meeting with Captain Thompson, of the British East Indiaman Calcutta, he never would have obtained the shipment of teas which netted so handsome a profit. While at the Cape of Good Hope, Captain Ingersoll had learned of the possibilities of trade at the Isle of France, and on his return he gave this information to Mr. Derby.

The Isle of France, or Mauritius, as it is now called, is an island in the Indian Ocean, about halfway from the Cape of Good Hope to Java, and in the old sailing-ship days it was a convenient stopping-place on the way from Europe to the East Indies. The early East Indiamen were generally very slow sailers, and the passage from Europe out to the Indies occupied at best many months. The crews and passengers had to subsist

almost entirely upon salt meats and bread, and the fresh-water supply was always a problem. It was therefore generally necessary to break the long voyage at some point in order to refill the ship's water-casks and enable her crew to get a little fresh food and change of diet. For this reason, as the trade to the East Indies increased, various ports of refreshment grew up on the way. To-day, one thinks of Saint Helena only as the deserted island on which Napoleon spent his years of exile; but in those days it was of considerable importance because it lay on the sailing track between England and India, and had long been used as a regular port of call for the British East India Company ships on their tedious voyages. Likewise, the Dutch East India Company had at an early date made the Cape of Good Hope a stopping-place for its ships on the way from Holland to Java, and later the French East India Company selected the Isle of France as the port of call for their ships bound to their possessions in India.

Like so many other places in the Indian Ocean, the Isle of France was first discovered by the Portuguese in the early part of the sixteenth century; but they made no settlement there. About

a century later the Dutch took possession of the place, and for many years had a small settlement on the island; but, as the Cape of Good Hope was their principal refreshment port on the way to and from the Indies, they never made much of the island and finally abandoned it. In 1715 the French, being anxious to develop a halfway station for their growing commerce with India, took possession of the island, and gave it the name of 'l'Île de France.' The Compagnie des Indes Orientales at that time held the exclusive right, under charter from Louis XIV, to the trade with the French settlements in India, and the Isle of France was used by them exclusively for many years, no other vessels being allowed to trade there. In 1783, however, at the termination of our Revolution, when the United States became recognized as an independent nation, a treaty was made with France which included among other things the right of American vessels to touch at the Isle of France for provisions, and this privilege was further extended by a decree of November 30, 1784, which permitted American vessels to land American produce at the Isle of France, and to load the products of that island or the East Indies in return. Mr. Derby learned of

this decree, early in 1785, and upon the return of the Grand Turk from her voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, decided to despatch her to the Isle of France with a cargo of New England products, there to be exchanged for a homeward lading of East India goods.

As this was the longest voyage so far undertaken by one of his ships, Mr. Derby was anxious to have the Grand Turk fully insured for the duration of the voyage. Up to that time no American merchant vessel, except the Empress of China, had penetrated beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and consequently American underwriters were not familiar with such a risk as the Grand Turk's contemplated voyage. British agents, on the other hand, had been insuring vessels and cargoes on East India voyages for years. Knowing this, Mr. Derby wrote his London agents, Messrs. Lane and Frazier, to see if they could get the Grand Turk covered. Lane and Frazier accordingly approached the underwriters at Lloyd's, but without very satisfactory results. The lack of enthusiasm felt by the members of this ancient British institution for the American merchant's business is shown in the following letter written to Mr. Derby by his agents:

'We could not effect the Insurance you order'd on the ship Grand Turk & cargo Ebenr West Master from Salem to the Isle of France & back. Our Underwriters are not fond of the risque, it being a new Trade to the Americans. Most of the ships in this kind of business are very particularly described, and the Masters and Seamen well acquainted with Navigation. Besides there was another natural objection which was the uncertainty how long Capt. West was likely to be out as it might not be in his power to procure a loading at the Isle of France. In short we do not think that under the most favourable circumstances of ship and crew we should have been able to have covered your property under 10 gs. p. Ct.'

It must be remembered that for the Far Eastern trade the underwriters at Lloyd's had been accustomed to take risks only on the ships of the British East India Company. These were considered the finest merchant vessels then afloat. As already quoted, they were 'very particularly described'; in other words, they were built according to most elaborate specifications, and the best materials were used throughout. They underwent a complete overhauling

after each voyage, and after four voyages were considered not sufficiently up to standard to continue longer in this trade. Moreover, service on these ships was much coveted, as the East India Company allowed unusual privileges to its employees, and maintained a very high standard of living and working conditions on its ships. The captains and officers were allowed space in the holds to carry cargo for their own account, and so were often able to make a great deal of money on the side by their own private trading. Thus the Company could always obtain the most competent 'masters & seamen well acquainted with Navigation.' For these reasons, the East India Company ships were very popular with the underwriters and enjoyed the lowest insurance rates. It is no wonder, therefore, that the members at Lloyd's looked askance at taking a risk on a mere colonial-built ship commanded by a captain of whom they had never heard, and owned by an obscure American merchant. Faced by this fact, Mr. Derby turned to New York, and eventually persuaded some of the underwriters there, with whom he had often taken policies on less hazardous voyages, to cover the Grand Turk from Salem to the Isle

of France and return for £4000 at nine per cent.

For this long voyage Mr. Derby selected as the Grand Turk's commander Captain Ebenezer West, a man of whose ability and judgment he had the highest opinion; and to assist Captain West in the intricate business of sales and purchases of the cargoes, he appointed Mr. William Vans to go as supercargo. While these negotiations were going forward, the cargo for the Grand Turk was gradually being accumulated from many different sources, and by the end of November was all stowed securely in her holds. The following manifest shows the assortment of goods deemed suitable for such a voyage and the cost of these articles to Mr. Derby:

Invoice of merchandise shipt on board the Grand Turk, Ebenr West Master bound for the Cape of Good Hope &c. Consigned to William Vans & Ebenezer West for sales and returns on my account.

		£	*s*	*d*
10	Bbls. of Pitch	12	0	0
10	" " Tar	8	10	0
75	" " Superfine Flour	180	0	0
6	Tierces of Rice	38	1	4
35	Hogsheads Tobacco	686	10	9
49	Furkins New York butter	140	4	2
20	Casks Claret Wine	90	0	0
483	Bars Iron	300	0	0
12	Hogsheads Loaf Sugar	88	17	3

		£	s	d
50	Cases of Oil	90	0	0
20	Boxes Chocolate	30	0	0
22	" Prunes	9	8	6
20	Crates Earthenware	166	2	0
26	Casks Brandy	206	14	0
163	½bbls. of Beef	293	8	0
9	Casks Ginsang	194	2	0
30	Puncheons Granada Rum	464	2	0
42	Casks Coniac Brandy	823	10	0
7	Casks Bacon & Hams	93	5	0
7	Boxes English Mold Candles	25	6	10
50	" Spermacety Candles	199	7	9
100	" Mould Candles	233	6	3
27	" Tallow Candles	53	1	3
32	" Soap	93	15	9
478	Furkins Butter	1157	4	9
579	Boxes Cheese	514	11	2
123	½ Bbls. Pork	252	3	0
38	Kegs of Beef	36	2	0
25	Baskets Aniseed	15	0	0
14	Hogshds New Eng. Rum high proof	152	3	8
20	½ " " " " " "	132	2	1
6	Casks Cheese	37	17	1
20	Hogshds Fish	184	15	0
42	Bbls. of Beer	126	0	0
4	Tierces of Bottled Beer	22	10	0
4	" " Porter	23	15	0
9	Kegs of Pork	9	9	0
		£7183	5	7
	Ship Turk with Stores Wages & outfits for Voyage	2000	0	0
	Light Cash	16	14	5
		£9200	0	0

On December 3, 1785, the Grand Turk weighed anchor and sailed. She was the first vessel to clear from Salem for ports beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and as the hills of Cape Ann sank below the horizon her crew little realized the length of time they would be gone and the number of strange ports they would visit before sighting again those familiar landmarks.

Hardly was the Grand Turk off soundings when she ran into a series of heavy winter gales in the North Atlantic which buffeted her severely. Then as she worked her way south she suffered tedious calms in the doldrums, so that her passage was unduly prolonged, and it was not until February 23d, or eighty-two days after leaving Salem, that the shores of Africa hove in sight, and she came to anchor once again in Table Bay at the Cape of Good Hope.

Soon after arriving at the Cape, Captain West found an American vessel commanded by a Captain Carpenter, about to sail for home, and he took this opportunity to write Mr. Derby in regard to the voyage, as follows:

CAPE GOOD HOPE *March 2th* 1786

SIR, These his my faurst by Capt. Carpenter of 82 Days. Mr. Vans and myself we wrote you

Every thing Consarning The Trade; but i shall acquaint you of our Pasage and Situation of the Ship. The 3rd Day after Sailing had a heavy Gale from ye S E, & 6th after Sailing a nother witch made our ship a Rack. Our mizen Stay sail split, our main Shroud Brock, Topmast, Backstays, Fore Sheets, Main Sheets, Fore Tacks, Fuddock Plate Main Top, one B. B on the Bow Spreet off owing to the outer end of Bowspreet being Rotten. Since i have been in port found ye main Topsail yard sprung, Fore top sail Rotten, witch our ship his in a bad situation to Proceede this voige; but i think it not Possible to Return the next Season. By ye entiligance that i am Got from shore sir we shall make as quick Despatch as Posible, sir we have had Considble Loss in the Cargo by the Heads of Cask Swelling out. One Pipe of Brandy intilly out, the head of Cask swell in 2 Hhds N E Rum, by the head swell out 32 Gall^{n} out of one 44 out of another. As soon as the wether wood Promit me to Keep the Hatches open one hour, i started the Water cask as it was imposible to make them Tite. The Loss of the Cheese we have made minchon in the Other Letter. Sir i have a grine stone Belonging to Capt. Carpenter 1 foot 4

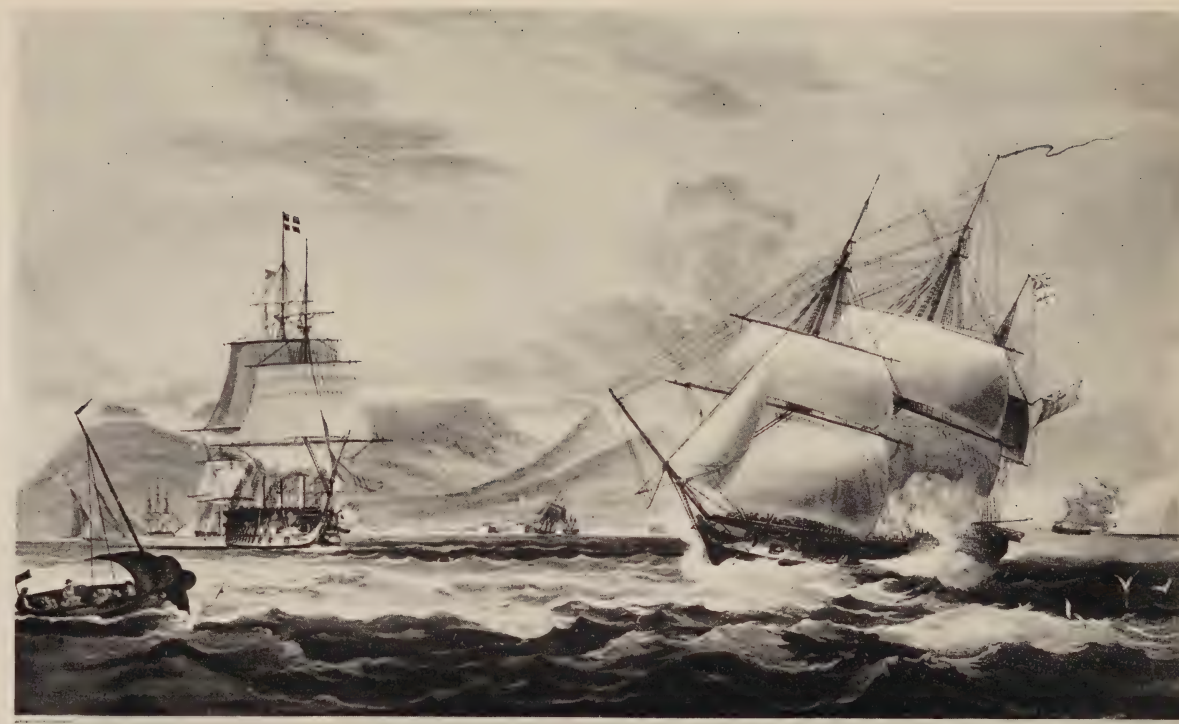


TABLE BAY, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Inches Dimtr. as we have not one on Board. I have you Give him one acording to that Dimanchons in Return of the one that i have. I have nothing more at Present. I rimmin

Sir Your Humble Servant

Ebenezer West

A week or so later, hearing of a ship ready to sail for England, Captain West and Mr. Vans took advantage of this method of communicating with their employer, and despatched another letter which they hoped would eventually find its way to Salem, and which read as follows:

Cape Good Hope 12 *March* 1786

Dear Sir,

Since our last we have made our greatest efforts to dispose of some part our Cargo but have not succeeded to our wishes. We have Sold 15000 lbs of Butter at about 4¼ lbs the Spanish Dollar pd. us on delivering the Butter, 10 hhd. Tobacco Containing 9448 nett pound for 945 Hides salted and in good order for shipping to be delr'd to us or our order in four Months (to people you may depend upon). We have left with a Mr. Carman a man of Property, 1 Hhd Loaf Sugar, 4 Tons Iron, 4 Crates ware & 6 Casks

Rice for your Acct. We acknowledge we have gone contrary to our Orders & Can justify ourselves no other way than giveing you the reason which we doubt not will prove satisfactory.

Capt. West Inform'd me the situation of our ship was such on our arrival here that she was not fit to go round the Cape unless we landed or dispos'd of some part of our Cargo. Haveing been here sometime & not finding a market for our goods Unless dipos'd of at Auction, we agreed to land a certain quantity sufficient to put the ship fit to proceed her Voyage — and rest assured that Nothing will be wanting on Our parts to Make a Good Voyage and Conclude with Respect your hble servants.

William Vans, Jun.
Ebenezer West.

These transactions having been completed, the Grand Turk, lightened by the discharged cargo, and repaired so as to be entirely seaworthy, on March 17th once more resumed her voyage and laid her course northeastward across the Indian Ocean, toward the Isle of France. Thirty-six days later, on April 22d, the outlines of the island to which she was bound came into view, and she

anchored in the open roadstead off Port Louis. Before going ashore, Captain West and Mr. Vans wrote the following letter to Mr. Derby:

At Sea *April 22d*, 1786

Dear Sir —

We wrote you several Letters from Cape Good Hope (via England, West Indies & by Capt. Carpenter), but as Letters often Miscary we again give you the Ruff Disposal of Goods at Cape G Hope. 15000 lbs. Butter @ 4¼ the Spanish dollar, Ten hogsheads Tobacco at 6d. sterling pound paid for in hides, some Rice & Sugar, the whole amounting to about 1200£ sterling.

We have left with a Mr. Carman for sale on your Account Goods Amounting to as per Invoice at £200 Lawful Money. We have been arived within a League of the Isle France, where we are now at Anchor this 10 Hours & have had the Harbour Master on board, who tels us that no forreighn Ships are allow'd to come into the Harbour under a Week, but as we are americans he will endeaver to get Pirmission for us to go on shore in a day or two (You see the finess of these Rascals). We have had severale gentl. on board

to purchase the Cargo & they inform us our articles are all in demand. As soon as we are permitted to go on shore, we shall give you the best Information we can obtain both as to Markets & produce of the Island — & Remain

Your servants

VANS & WEST

A few days later they wrote again:

April 27th, 1786

In our letter dated at sea we acquainted you of our arrival off Isle France. Since then we have arrived & landed but misserably disappointed in the demand for our Cargo. (We depend only on Returns for to make a saveing Voyage.) However we Intend to Lay here sometime before we sell, as we know some articles we have are in demand, although they offer very little for them at present. In our Letter from Cape Good Hope we wrote you if Markets was not good at the Isle France we shou'd proceed to Batavia, but haveing had severe gales of wind in our passage here that has weakend & put our ship so much out of repair that Capt. West thinks her unsafe to go to Batavia.

We are quite unhappy at our present prospect

but Rest assured nothing has been wanting on our parts, but rather our greatest exertions has been made for a Good Voyage & Remain D sir your servants

WILLIAM VANS
EBENZ WEST

P.S. We had 36 day passage from Cape Good Hope to the Isle of France. We give you the produce of Isle France which is Coffee at 8 Spanish dollar pr. hund, Cotton clean 9 dollars per hund. If we tarry here till November we can get Coffee at 5 or 6 dollars & Cotton in proportions as this is not the season for it.

We send you this Letter by the way of England.

The depressed market which Captain West and Mr. Vans complained of finding at the Isle of France was due to the following causes: For some years the power of the French in India had been waning, and most of the French possessions in that country had been seized by the English, so that the French trade with India was not what it had been before. As a result, the Isle of France naturally suffered from the same depression. Captain West and Mr. Vans were therefore disap-

pointed in the demand for their cargo of New England products. To be sure the articles in the Grand Turk's holds were just what the people wanted, but money was scarce in the island and the buying power low, so that it took some time to dispose of the cargo, and the prices obtained were not what had been hoped for. Captain West and Mr. Vans were therefore rather at a loss to obtain a homeward loading, and began to consider the possibility of proceeding light to some East Indian port where they might find commodities in which they could profitably invest the proceeds of their outward cargo. At this juncture they were approached by a French merchant of the island, M. Sebier de la Chataignerais, who offered to charter two thirds of the space in the Grand Turk, first to carry a miscellaneous freight from the Isle of France to Canton, China, and then a consignment of teas from Canton to Boston. Although when the Grand Turk sailed from Salem Mr. Derby had no idea of sending her as far as China, Captain West and Mr. Vans saw in the Frenchman's offer a chance to make an exceptionally good voyage out of what was beginning to look like a losing venture. They accordingly told M. Sebier that if he would agree to

pay all the port charges in China, they would charter two thirds of the ship to him for $1200 per month. M. Sebier agreed to these terms, and the charter was signed on June 20th. The Frenchman's cargo consisted of 1768 pieces of ebony wood, fifteen cases of ginseng, seventeen bales of gold thread, a few cases of cloth, and some bags of betel nuts. Apparently, M. Sebier was not in a position wholly to finance this undertaking himself, and since Mr. Vans had just received a large amount of cash as proceeds of the sale of the Grand Turk's outward cargo, M. Sebier borrowed from him the sum of $5650, which the Frenchman agreed to repay after selling his cargo in China. It was further arranged that M. Sebier should take passage in the Grand Turk and pay for his table and lodgings while on board. Under date of June 25th Mr. Vans wrote to Mr. Derby that the Grand Turk was about to sail for China, and that he hoped the handsome charter-hire to be paid by M. Sebier would make the voyage a very profitable venture.

About the first of July, the Grand Turk set out once more with M. Sebier's freight aboard and laid her course across the Indian Ocean toward the Straits of Sunda. For several weeks she sailed

along under tropic skies, until at last there was sighted that familiar milestone of eastern voyagers, Java Head; and soon she was negotiating the treacherous passage of the Sunda Straits with Java to starboard and Sumatra to port. Thus the Grand Turk passed into the waters of the Java Sea and cautiously made her way through its beautiful archipelagoes so well described by Conrad in his romantic tropic tales. The navigation of the South China Sea, with all its numerous reefs, was safely accomplished, and at last, early in September, the Grand Turk arrived off the Lema Islands at the mouth of the Canton River and took on a Chinese pilot. Under the guidance of the old Chinaman, she tacked slowly up the river for about thirty miles, until she reached the 'Bogue' where the river narrows. Here the topsails were backed, and the ship hove to, while an important-appearing official, with long pigtail and silken robe, came off from the shore in a sampan and boarded the Grand Turk to see what manner of ship she might be. Captain West hastened to produce a bottle of Mr. Derby's best Madeira for his visitor, which was doubtless acceptable to the old fellow, who, after a cursory glance about, seemed satisfied and gave the pilot permission

for the ship to proceed. For thirty miles more the Grand Turk continued to beat her way upstream, until at a bend in the river the famous Pagoda anchorage at Whampoa came into view. This was the limit of navigation for ocean-going ships, and here a great fleet of vessels was lying at anchor. Here were the great high-sided ships of the British East India Company, comprising more than half the fleet, and here also were anchored ships flying the flags of Holland, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden. Around them were a host of Chinese craft, ranging from great junks with huge mat-sails to sampans, of which there were a countless number moving about. At the upper end of the fleet of merchant vessels, Captain West was surprised to see two ships flying the American flag, and he directed the pilot to bring the Grand Turk to an anchorage near them. As he approached, Captain West, through his spy-glass, made them out to be the Empress of China of New York, which the Grand Turk had met at Table Bay over a year before, and the ship Hope, also from New York. The Grand Turk dropped anchor beside them and furled her sails preparatory to a long stay. She was the third American ship to reach China.

As soon as the Grand Turk had anchored, boats with visitors from the Empress of China and the Hope came alongside, and from them Captain West learned that Major Samuel Shaw, recently appointed first American Consul to China, had just arrived in the Hope, and was already established in Canton. Captain West and Mr. Vans therefore decided to confer with Major Shaw, as they knew he would be well informed regarding the customs of the place, having been there before. So they hired one of the many sampans hovering about the Grand Turk and were rowed up the remaining miles of the busy river which separated Whampoa from the great city of Canton. Threading their way through the swarms of native craft that crowded the river, they came at length to the landing of the foreign settlement. Here they were pleased to see the American flag flying in front of one of the buildings, marking the newly established residence of the American Consul. Major Shaw welcomed his visitors, and in answer to their inquiries gave them much valuable information regarding the methods of carrying on trade in China; for in those days everything had to be done, as the Chinese quaintly put it, 'according to olo custom.'

THE PAGODA ANCHORAGE AT WHAMPOA
From an old Chinese painting

From earliest times, China had been a country almost unknown to Europeans. A few travelers like Marco Polo had penetrated into the middle of this distant land, and no doubt there had existed a certain exchange of goods between Europe and the Far East by the early caravan routes; but it was not until the Portuguese rounded the Cape of Good Hope and pressed on to the Orient, early in the sixteenth century, that the China trade really began. In 1557 the Portuguese traders established themselves at Macao near the mouth of the Canton River, and they were followed by the Spanish, the Dutch, and the British, whose vessels first visited Canton early in the seventeenth century. Before long the merchant ships of France, Denmark, Sweden, and the Hanseatic League also appeared at Canton, and the exchange of European goods for teas and other Chinese products grew so rapidly that eventually the Emperor of the 'Flowery Kingdom' decided to take advantage of this prosperous trade to increase the royal revenues. In 1745 the Emperor Yung Ching issued a decree that all commerce between China and foreign countries should be confined to the port of Canton, and in order that this trade might be rigorously con-

trolled he also decreed that a group of thirteen merchants in Canton should be given the exclusive privilege of transacting business with foreigners. These merchants were called the 'Co-Hong,' and the thirteen members were known as 'Hong' merchants. For the privilege of their monopoly, it was said that they each had to pay the Royal Treasury the equivalent of about $250,000; but the advantages obtained were evidently well worth this amount, for the Hong merchants all became very wealthy, while Houqua, the most famous of the group, was rumored to have amassed a fortune amounting to $25,000,000. The members of the Co-Hong were men of great influence in the commercial life of China, and their dealings with foreigners were always marked by courtesy and scrupulous honesty. Every foreign ship coming to Canton for trade had to appoint a Hong merchant to act as its agent in the buying and selling of cargoes and as its security for the payment of duties and taxes to the custom-house. The entire inward cargo was purchased by the Hong merchant to whom the ship gave its business, and he in turn procured and loaded on board the ship the entire outward cargo. The Government required him to

collect for the custom-house the duties and taxes due from the foreigners, and held him personally liable if the captains and crews of the foreign ships infringed upon any of the famous 'Eight Regulations' while in Canton.

A small section of the Canton River front was set aside for the transaction of foreign trade, and here the Hong merchants had erected a row of buildings, consisting of 'go-downs' or warehouses, and 'factories' or offices and living quarters, which they rented to the foreigners. In front of each factory was a tall flagstaff flying the national flag of the country represented, and around the whole group of buildings was a high fence beyond which no foreigner was allowed to penetrate; so that European merchants came year after year to Canton without ever setting foot in any part of that great city except this small compound on the river front.[1]

[1] The 'Eight Regulations' provided, among other things, that 'foreign barbarians' may not leave the factories 'except on the 8th, 18th, and 28th days of the moon,' when 'they may take the air in the company of a Linguist to visit the Flower Gardens and the Honam joss-house, but not in droves of over ten at one time'; that foreigners must deal only with the Hong merchants and 'must not sell to rascally natives goods subject to duty, that these may smuggle them and thereby defraud his Celestial Majesty's revenue,' and that 'neither women, guns, spears, nor arms of any kind can be brought to the factories.'

It was in one of these rented factories in the foreign quarter that Major Shaw received the visitors from the Grand Turk and described to them the peculiar methods of trade in Canton which have just been outlined. He explained to Captain West, Mr. Vans, and M. Sebier that before they could do any business at Canton it would be necessary for them to appoint a Hong merchant as agent for the Grand Turk, and he recommended the Hong merchant Pinqua, with whom he had previously dealt, and offered to conduct the newcomers to him. So they started for Pinqua's factory to see if he would handle the Grand Turk's business. Arrived there, they passed through the first floor, in which the great chests of tea were stored, and, ascending to the second story, were ushered into the private counting-room of the dignified old merchant. He greeted them most courteously, and invited them to be seated; whereupon he clapped his hands, and China boys shuffled noiselessly into the room, bringing dishes of fragrant tea. Over this refreshment, Pinqua assured his visitors that he would be glad to act as the Grand Turk's agent. After some discussion regarding the cargo, he brought up the matter of engaging a

THE HONG FACTORIES AT CANTON
From an old Chinese painting

comprador and suggested to Captain West a reliable man who was licensed to act in this capacity. For in addition to a Hong merchant it was also necessary for every ship to have a comprador through whom all provisions and other necessities for the ship must be procured. The comprador not only arranged for the ship's supplies while at Whampoa, but he also occupied the position of housekeeper in the rented factory in Canton; hired the clerks and house-boys, and generally supervised the running of the establishment. For this he received the equivalent of about two hundred and fifty dollars a ship, but the fee was merely nominal, as his real income came from the commissions and perquisites which he obtained on everything he bought, according to a system long established and recognized as 'olo custom.'

In addition to a Hong merchant and a comprador, every ship coming to Canton to trade was obliged to employ a linguist, who was a sort of customs inspector and official interpreter combined, although the latter function was largely nominal, as a linguist seldom understood any language but his own. The Celestial Government did not officially recognize foreigners, and

all matters between foreign merchants and the custom-house had to be transacted by the Hong merchants through the linguists who were appointed by the Government for this purpose. Besides these duties, the linguist had to keep close watch on all goods being discharged or loaded, and, moreover, had to see that the foreigners respected the 'Eight Regulations.' In other words, the linguists were the personal representatives of that most important functionary, the Hoppo.

This great official was appointed by the Emperor himself as the superintendent of foreign trade of the port of Canton, and as Canton was the only Chinese port through which any foreign trade was allowed to pass, his position was one of great importance. The customs duties and enormous tonnage taxes levied on ships entering the port were paid to him as official representative of the Emperor. Soon after a vessel arrived at Whampoa, and before she could open her hatches and discharge any cargo, the famous ceremony of 'Cumsha and Measurement' had to be performed by the Hoppo himself. At such times, due notice having been given, the Hoppo came down to Whampoa from Canton in his barge, accompanied

by his attendants, together with the Hong merchant acting as security for the ship.

As nothing further could be done toward discharging the Grand Turk until this ceremony had taken place, Pinqua sent the newly appointed linguist to the Hoppo's office to make arrangements for measuring the ship. He soon returned, bringing word that the Celestial representative would honor the Grand Turk with his presence on the following day at noon. Captain West, therefore, made haste to return to Whampoa and prepare his vessel for the arrival of the Hoppo. The next morning the decks were thoroughly holystoned, brasses polished, and everything tidied up and made ship-shape. The largest American flag was set flying at the peak and the Derby house-flag hoisted at the main truck. The crew were rigged out in their best Sunday clothes, and the steward was instructed to have plenty of refreshments ready. Toward noon, the Hoppo's barge, propelled by ten rowers, and flying innumerable pennants and the great Dragon flag of China, was sighted coming rapidly down the river. Presently she ranged up alongside the Grand Turk; a gangplank was laid across, and the Hoppo, magnificent in silken robes, stepped

aboard. He was accompanied by Pinqua and followed by his retinue. Captain West received his visitors at the gangway, and after the exchange of a few civilities the important business of measurement began.

The Hoppo's attendants first ran a measuring tape from the rudder-post to the foremast, and the length was carefully written down. The breadth was then taken amidships just abaft the mainmast. The calculation from these figures was something as follows: The two measurements were multiplied, which gave the total number of 'covids' upon which the measurement fee was figured at so many taels per covid. To the number of taels thus obtained, however, was added one hundred per cent for 'cumsha,' and in addition to this fifty per cent more for 'Hoppo's opening barrier fee.' There were then added a few other minor items, such as ten per cent of the original amount 'to superintendent of the treasury,' and another ten per cent of the original amount to cover 'transport of duty to Peking and weighing in Government scales.' On top of this came the further calculation of seven per cent of the total to cover difference in weights between Canton and Peking, and still another item of

one fifth of one per cent 'for work of converting.' To the amazement of Captain West, these Hoppo cumshas and fees, when all figured out and converted into dollars, brought the tax on the Grand Turk, a vessel of only three hundred tons, to almost $3500. He had heard that the duties and taxes at Canton were high, and for that reason in the charter he had made with M. Sebier at the Isle of France he had insisted that the Frenchman should pay all these charges. Captain West, however, had no idea they would be so much, and he was therefore thankful indeed for his prudence in relieving the ship of this great expense. To M. Sebier, on the other hand, the Hoppo's visit was far from a gala occasion.

As soon as the tax had been calculated, Pinqua signed a bond for the Hoppo guaranteeing its payment. Whereupon the Hoppo issued a 'permit to open hatches,' and the Grand Turk was free to discharge. The steward then announced that refreshments were ready, and the entire party descended to the cabin, where Captain West offered them the best in food and wine that the ship could afford. At this juncture, the Hoppo asked the captain if he had any 'sing songs,' meaning clocks, mechanical toys, or simi-

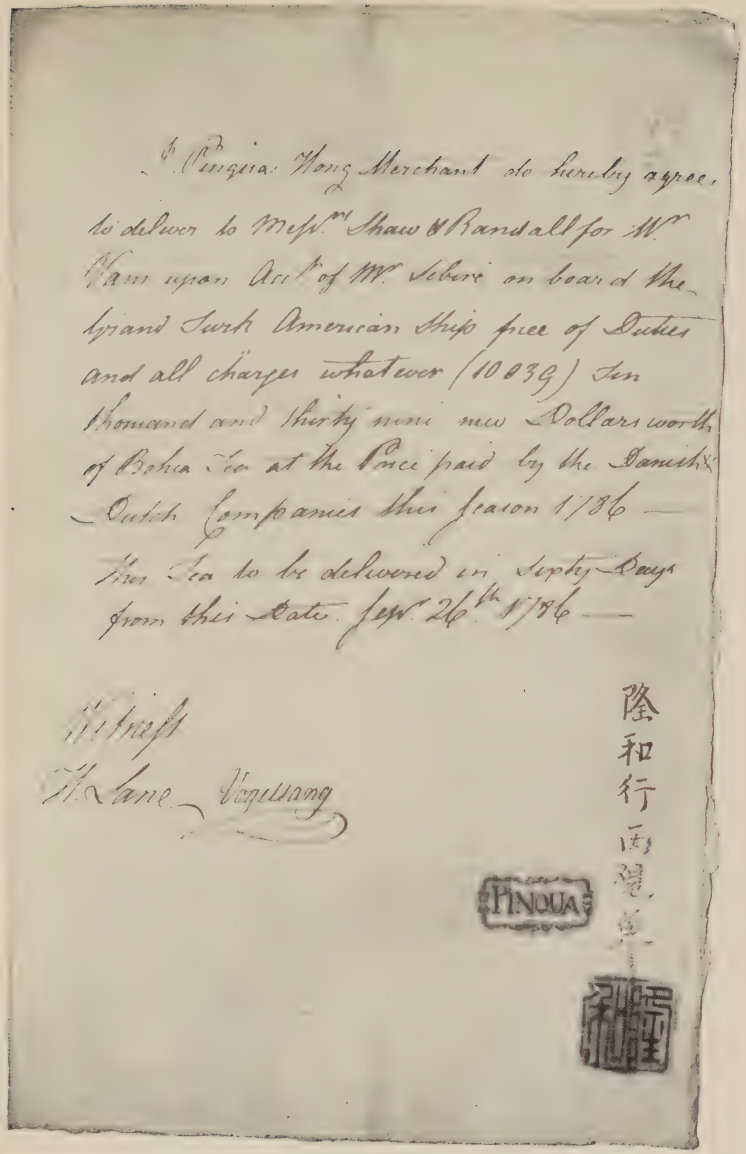
lar novelties. Captain West, having been tipped off by Major Shaw in regard to this matter, produced a few such articles, which he happened to have on board and presented them to the Hoppo. The old fellow took them, saying he could not accept these as gifts, but that he would pay the ship's Hong merchant later what they were worth. This promise, however, was never fulfilled. The ceremony of 'Cumsha and Measurements' being now completed, the Hoppo, bearing in the sleeve of his robe an old Salem ship's clock and other foreign treasures, returned to his barge and started back to Canton.

The next morning the ship's linguist came alongside with two large sampans ready to receive the Grand Turk's cargo, and the discharge of M. Sebier's goods began. For a week or more the sampans plied back and forth between the Grand Turk at Whampoa and Pinqua's go-down at Canton, where the merchandise was carefully checked, weighed, and measured by numerous officials of the Hoppo's office. In the meantime, Captain West, Mr. Vans, and M. Sebier took up their residence in Major Shaw's factory at Canton in order to attend to the sales and purchases. It was necessary in those days for ships to remain

at Whampoa for three or four months, while the inward cargo was discharged and sold and an outward lading contracted for, purchased, and loaded. During this long period, while the captain and supercargoes were living in Canton, the crew were kept employed in making necessary repairs and, after the ship was discharged, in cleaning and painting her within and without. On an island opposite the anchorage, an enterprising mandarin had erected a series of bank-salls, or boat-houses, low buildings framed with bamboo reeds and covered with matting which he rented to the various ships, to be used by their crews for the overhauling of spars, sails, and rigging. One of these bank-salls was taken by Captain West, and in it were placed the Grand Turk's rigging and sails in need of repair. The ship's topmasts were sent down, and she was prepared for a lengthy stay at her anchorage at Whampoa, while Captain West, Mr. Vans, and M. Sebier were transacting their business at Canton.

It had been M. Sebier's intention, after disposing of his cargo, to lay out the proceeds largely in teas for the American market; but apparently his lack of familiarity with the conditions of trade at Canton upset his calculations. The Hoppo's

fees far exceeded his expectations, and, moreover, he tried to do his business on too small a capital, even borrowing from Mr. Vans at the Isle of France, in order to finance his original cargo. To be sure, his ebony and other articles were sold to Pinqua for $12,325, but, after allowing for his charter hire from the Isle of France, his debt to Mr. Vans, and the Hoppo's fees, M. Sebier had nothing left with which to buy his intended cargo of teas. He was therefore forced to give up his charter of the Grand Turk from Canton to Boston, and after many negotiations, in which Major Shaw and his partner, Mr. Randall, acted as intermediaries, he finally settled his affairs with Captain West and Mr. Vans by authorizing Pinqua to place to their credit $10,039, of which $3800 was for the charter-hire from the Isle of France to Canton, $5739 for payment of his loan from Mr. Vans, and $500 for his board and lodging since leaving the Isle of France. At the same time he agreed to assume the payment of the Hoppo's dues, amounting to $3500, according to his original contract. It is difficult to see how he managed to do this, for, after settling with Mr. Vans, he had only about $2000 left from the proceeds of his cargo; but, at any


I Pinqua Hong Merchant do hereby agree
to deliver to Messrs Shaw & Randall for Mr
Ham upon Acct of Mr Sebire on board the
Grand Turk American Ship free of Duties
and all charges whatever (10039) Ten
thousand and thirty nine new Dollars worth
of Bohea Tea at the Price paid by the Danish
Dutch Companies this Season 1786 —
The Tea to be delivered in Sixty Days
from this Date Sept. 26th 1786 —
Witness
H Lane Vegelsang
陰和行
PINQUA
PINQUA'S CONTRACT FOR THE GRAND TURK'S CARGO OF TEA

rate, the records show that Captain West paid no taxes or duties for the Grand Turk at Canton.

As soon as these arrangements had been made, a contract was drawn, dated September 26th, by which Pinqua agreed to lay out the $10,039 in Bohea tea for the Grand Turk's homeward cargo, 'at the price paid by the Danish and Dutch companies this season.' This document, bearing Pinqua's signature and seal, is here reproduced. Mr. Vans still had in his strong-box about ten thousand Spanish dollars which he had received for sales of cargo at the Cape of Good Hope and the Isle of France, and he therefore arranged with Pinqua to lay out this sum in additional teas, together with some chinaware, cinnamon, and other products of the Canton market. Pinqua agreed to deliver the entire cargo on board the Grand Turk in sixty days or about December 1st. The teas for export were purchased by the Hong merchants from the Bohea or Sunglo regions, some three hundred miles north of Canton, and arrived in Canton after a long and costly trip across the hills on porters' backs and down the rivers in sampans. It was usually the end of November before the season's crop had all come in, and the teas then had to be resorted and

repacked ready for shipping in decorated chests marked with chops indicating the place of growth and the seller's name. The Grand Turk, therefore, had many weeks to wait while her cargo was being obtained and prepared for shipment.

In the meantime, soon after the Grand Turk's arrival, two more American vessels had anchored at Whampoa — the sloop Experiment from New York and the ship Canton from Philadelphia. With the Empress of China, the Hope, and the Grand Turk, this made five American ships at Canton, where only one American vessel had ever been before. All of these ships, except the Grand Turk, had come to China as result of the enthusiastic reports of trading opportunities carried home by Major Shaw after his pioneer voyage to Canton in the Empress of China. They all brought cargoes of American products, which were sold at a good profit, and the proceeds laid out in teas. On November 28th, the Experiment, the smallest of the fleet, having loaded her teas, was ready to sail for New York, and Captain West and Mr. Vans took this opportunity to write Mr. Derby as follows:

In our last letter from the Island of France we

acquainted you that we had taken a freight for China & that the Cargo was answerable for that Freight. Since then we have the pleasure to Inform you of our arrival at Canton. Although the Cargo was made over to us for the freight, the situation of the Gentleman & Customs of Canton obliged us to give up the Cargo and take 3800 dollars in full for the Contract & freight from Island of France to this place, he paying all charges except Manning, Victualing, & Rigging the Ship. The particulars of this affair will be two long for a letter we shall therefore wait our arrival in America. We are now taking a Cargo for America on your Account Consisting of the following Articles. China Ware — Table sets Tea & Coffee ditto & Cups & Saucers the whole amounting to about 2000 dollars (sufficient to floor the ship) 30 or 40 pukle of Cassia Cinnamon at 24 dollars per pukle — 300 large chests Bohea Tea amt^ing to abt 15000 dollars — Hyson Singlo & Congo Teas to Compleat the Cargo, the whole of which will amount to abt 21000 dollars at Canton which place we hope to leave by 20th December. We shall stop at the Cape G. Hope & take as many Hides as will fill the ship & compleat our Cargo & from there make

our best way home. The Duties Charges & Presents which every Ship has to pay make it very expensive being here a Vessel of 30 tons pays the same as a ship of 1000 tons. — The person who freighted the ship Turk will pay neer 10,000 dollars for charges duties & presents to hoppo. We hope to be in America in all May and conclude with wishing ourselves a safe arrival and good Reception.

Yr. very humble servants

WM. VANS &
E. WEST

per sloop Enterprise Capt. Dean.

On December 20th the Empress of China sailed for New York, which gave Captain West and Mr. Vans a chance to write again as follows:

CANTON, *Decr. 20th* 1786

E. H. Derby, Esqr.

SIR

We wrote you by Captain Dean who left this place 28th November — since then nothing has transpired except a suspencion of Trade for 15 Days which will prevent our sailing so soon as we expected, but hope to get away by 1 Jany. We

have got our China ware on bd. ship & I hope to have Teas packed in a day or two. We have made no alterations in the quantity of goods since our Letters by Capt. Dean. China Ware, Teas & Cassia to amt. 21000 dollars or thereabouts.

We shall stop at the Cape and take as many Hides as will fill the Ship & proceed home where we hope to arrive by May & Remain Sir yr very hble Servants.

W. VANS, JR.
E. WEST

per Captain Green in the Empress of China.

And so it was that on the last day of the year the last chest of tea was lowered into the Grand Turk's hold, and the ship's carpenter began to batten down the hatches. Now the preparations for sailing proceeded rapidly. The topmasts were sent up, the sails bent, and the various odds and ends of ship's gear brought from the bank-salls on shore and carefully stowed in their appointed places on board ship. The comprador brought the stores for the voyage, and these were likewise stowed away. Mr. Vans and Captain West had now completed their business with Pinqua, and were making their preparations to leave his

factory at Canton. On the day of their departure, they went to make their farewell visit to the old merchant. Pinqua received them in his usual courteous manner, and after the customary formality of tea-drinking he summoned his servants, who brought in a large china bowl and placed it before his guests. To their surprise, they found it was beautifully decorated with a painting of the Grand Turk under full sail, and bore the inscription, 'Ship Grand Turk at Canton, 1786.' Pinqua begged his visitors to accept this gift as a souvenir of their stay at Canton, and the bowl, still perfectly preserved after one hundred and forty years, can be seen to-day in the Marine Room of the Peabody Museum at Salem. So Pinqua, with not a little regret, bade farewell to his friends from the Hwa-Ke country.

Captain West then made application, through his linguist, to the Hoppo for the Grand Chop. This document, which was given to ships after they had completed loading, certified that all formalities had been complied with and all duties and taxes met. In other words, it was the equivalent of the modern customs clearance, and was couched in the following delightful wording:

THE GRAND TURK PUNCHBOWL

Chung, filling the office of Hoppo by Imperial appointment, issues this in obedience to his will. When Western ocean ships have been measured, paid their duties, and departed, should bad winds and water drive them to the shores of another province (not being within the accorded limits of trading), if it is found that they possess this sealed discharge, they must be allowed to continue their voyage without delay or opposition, which is on record.

Now the foreign merchant ship Grand Turk, having loaded with merchandise, goes to the Hwa-Ke country, there to manage her business. She has been measured, and duties incurred by her have all been settled, as customary. As she is now departing, this is given as a clearance into the hands of the said merchant to grasp and hold fast, so that, should he meet with any other custom house, he must not be detained. Military stations to which it may be shown must also let the said vessel pass without interruption, and not induce her to remain and trade that they may be benefitted by any charges or duties. Should they act otherwise, it will give rise to trouble and confusion.

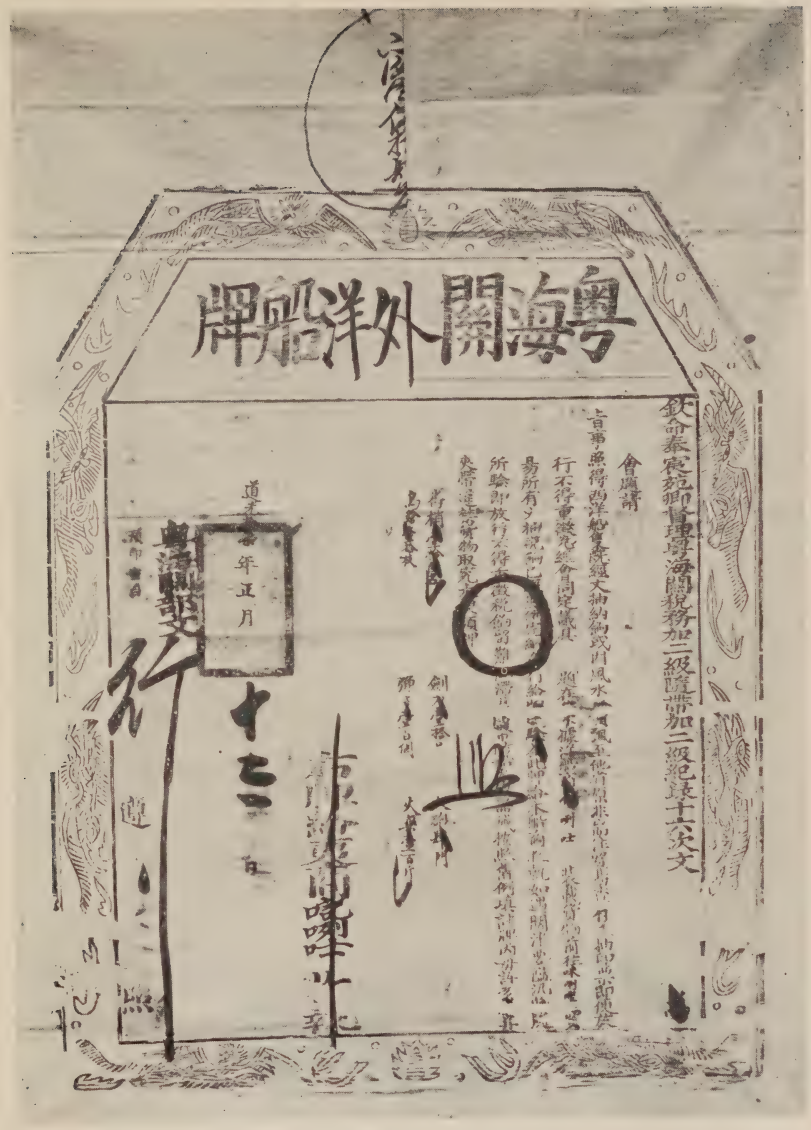
According to old regulations, the guns and

ammunitions and other arms she carries for her defence are herein enumerated. An unnecessary quantity is not allowed, nor has she dared to receive on board contraband articles. Should it have been discovered that these rules were broken by her, this permission to sail would assuredly not have been granted. Respectfully examine this and depart.

(Hoppo's seal.)

Sailors	18
Great guns	4
Shot	100
Swords	10
Muskets	10
Fire-physic (powder)	200 catties

The 'Grand Chop' having been received and all business finished, the comprador's boys carried the chests and boxes of personal belongings down to a waiting sampan, in which Captain West and Mr. Vans embarked and in which they were rowed for the last time down the crowded river to Whampoa. Early the next morning the pilot came on board; the topsails were set; the crew manned the windlass, and, as the anchor rose from the muddy bottom where it had lain so long, the jibs were sheeted home, and the



THE GRAND CHOP

Grand Turk swung around and headed down river. As the ship was gathering way, the comprador, who had benefited by many commissions or cumshas on the ship's supplies, now came on board to bid farewell, bringing with him the 'comprador's cumshas' for the ship 'according to olo custom.' These consisted of lichee nuts, oranges, jars of ginger, and other delicacies for officers and crew. Having distributed his parting gifts, the comprador bowed himself off into his sampan, from which vantage-point he proceeded to set off an enormous bunch of fire-crackers on the end of a long bamboo-pole 'to awaken the gods to the vessel's departure and give her good wind and good water.' The Grand Turk promptly responded with a return salute from her guns amid the cheers of the crew. Gradually, the familiar scenes of Whampoa, with its crowded anchorage, were left astern. At the Bogue forts the ship hove to while a representative of the Hoppo's office came out to inspect the vessel's 'Grand Chop,' and, finding all in order, bade her depart. On passing Macao, the pilot was taken off into a waiting sampan, and with him went the last symbol of the Celestial Empire. The strange life of Canton and Whampoa became now only

memories, and the crew settled down to their long voyage back to Salem.

With all sails set, the Grand Turk started across the China Sea before the northeast monsoon. Once more the treacherous channels of the Java Seas were negotiated, and soon Java Head was left astern as a course was laid southwest down the Indian Ocean. For six weeks more the ship made her way across this great body of water, until, early in March, she sighted the coast of Africa, and, skirting along the shore to avoid as much as possible the rough seas of the Agulha Banks, she finally dropped anchor in Table Bay at the Cape of Good Hope. On the outward voyage almost a year before, Mr. Vans had discharged some cargo here, leaving it with his agent, Mr. Carman, to be disposed of to the best advantage, and he had arranged that the proceeds should be laid out in hides for the ship to pick up on her return passage. At that time the Grand Turk had intended to go only as far as the Isle of France, so that, as a result of her protracted voyage, the hides had lain waiting in Mr. Carman's warehouse for some months. A small space in the hold had been reserved for the hides, and these were quickly loaded. After re-

maining only a few days at Table Bay, the Grand Turk weighed anchor on March 17th and resumed her long homeward voyage.

During the many months that the Grand Turk was sailing the distant Eastern seas and visiting the strange ports of the Orient, her owner in his counting-house back in Salem knew but little of her whereabouts. The ship had left Salem in December, 1785, bound for the Isle of France, and from the time she passed out by Baker's Island until the following June, not a single word of any kind did Mr. Derby hear of her. He then received the letter from Captain West advising him of the Grand Turk's arrival at the Cape of Good Hope and of her intended departure for the Isle of France. A month later, in July, another letter, dated at the Isle of France in April, brought the news that the ship had reached that distant island. Therefore, as the summer passed and the autumn approached, Mr. Derby began to expect the Grand Turk back again. But the weeks wore into months, and winter came, and now the ship had been absent a year, and still she failed to appear. Finally, in February, 1787, Mr. Derby received a letter from Captain West, written from the Isle of

France in the previous June. This letter, which had been a long time coming by way of Europe, brought the interesting information that the Grand Turk had been chartered by M. Sebier for a voyage from the Isle of France to Canton and thence back to Boston. Mr. Derby immediately communicated with his insurance agents in New York to have the ship covered for this extension of her voyage; but it was only through much persuasion and by an added premium that he was able to have the policies changed to include a voyage to China. He now estimated that if the Grand Turk had sailed from the Isle of France for China in the previous June, she might well be expected home the following spring, and his expectation was at last confirmed in May, 1787, when the sloop Experiment arrived in New York, bringing with her the letter written by Captain West at Canton in the previous November. This letter, already quoted, advised Mr. Derby that the charter to M. Sebier had fallen through, and that the Grand Turk expected to sail from Canton about New Year's, with a full cargo of teas and chinaware for Mr. Derby's own account.

Since the Experiment had only a month's

start over the Grand Turk, Mr. Derby soon began to look for the arrival of his own vessel, and finally on May 22, 1787, he was gladdened by the sight of a ship coming in by Baker's Island, which he recognized as his long-absent Argosy. As the vessel came slowly past Naugus Head and shortened sail, her guns boomed out a salute, and word passed round the town that the Grand Turk was back. Crowds of people dropped what they were doing and made their way toward the waterfront to witness the home-coming of the first New England ship which had visited the almost mythical Orient. Rowboats and skiffs hurriedly put off to meet her, and there were plenty of willing hands to take the hawsers and warp her in to a berth at Derby Wharf. She was hardly moored before her decks were thronged with townspeople, many coming to greet their friends or relatives in the crew, and others actuated solely by curiosity. They plied the crew with questions about the voyage, and listened eagerly to the stories of their adventures in strange lands, while looking with amazement at the curios and 'comprador's cumshas' brought home by these eighteenth-century Marco Polos. But although the curios and the stories of Chi-

nese customs were undoubtedly of interest to Mr. Derby, it was the cargo stowed beneath the hatches that most seriously engaged his attention. He soon left the crowded deck and descended to the cabin with Captain West and Mr. Vans and there looked over the ship's manifest, which document showed the following cargo to be on board:

Manifest of the cargo on board ship Grand Turk Eben West Master arrived from Canton 22nd May, 1787

(*Showing costs at Canton*)

240 Chests Bohea Tea.... } 175 ½ Chests Bohea Tea }	$17510
2 Chests Hyson Tea	95
52 " Souchong	521
32 " Bohea Congo	459
130 " Cassia	779
10 " Cassia Bud	85
75 Boxes China	1923
945 Ox Hides	1050
100 Shammy Skins. 50 Buck Skins.... 130 Ordinary Hides	184
10 Casks Wine	568
1 Box paper	44
	$23218

Adventures:

13 Chests Bohea Tea	$650
6 " Canzo	300
6 Boxes China	135
24 pkgs. Bandanna Hdkfs	72
24 Chests of muslins	

The next day the work of unloading began, and soon Mr. Derby's warehouse was filled with the fragrant odors of far-away China, as the chests of Bohea tea, marked with their strange chops, were carefully tallied out of the ship. It would be interesting to know how great were Mr. Derby's profits from the Grand Turk's voyage. Felt, in his 'Annals of Salem,' says, 'Her voyage was very profitable, yielding twice more capital than she carried out'; and with this statement one must be content, for, on account of the way Mr. Derby carried on his business, it is impossible to estimate the exact profit of any one voyage. A year or more may have passed before he had sold all the cargo brought in by the Grand Turk. The grocer in Salem probably took a few chests of tea, while a dozen chests may have been sent on one of the Derby schooners to the Carolinas, to be exchanged for rice. Part of the 'Chinaware Table sets, Tea and Coffee ditto,' with which Captain West floored the hold at Canton no doubt graced Mr. Derby's own table, while the balance met a ready sale among the gentry of Salem or Boston; and remnants of these sets are even now to be found, highly treasured, in many New England

homes. The Grand Turk's manifest indicates that the outward cargo was valued by Mr. Derby at £7183, or about 31,000 Spanish dollars, while Captain West's account-book shows that the sales of these goods at the Cape of Good Hope and the Isle of France netted only $25,000. Thus the outward cargo was disposed of for less than its cost. Captain West, however, received $3800 for M. Sebier's charter-hire from the Isle of France to Canton; so that, after discharging in China, he had received in all $29,000 with which to pay the ship's expenses and buy a return cargo. The homeward lading of teas and chinaware cost about $24,000, and the expenses of manning, victualing, and upkeep of the ship used up the balance of the receipts. It is evident, therefore, that if, as the historian Felt says, the Grand Turk's voyage 'yielded twice more capital than she carried out,' the profit must all have been made on the teas and chinaware which were sold in America presumably for more than twice their cost in China.

The return of the Grand Turk in May, 1787, found Mr. Derby already well embarked in trade to ports beyond the Cape of Good Hope. In August, 1786, he had despatched his brig Three

Sisters to the Cape of Good Hope and the Isle of France with a cargo of provisions similar to that taken out by the Grand Turk, and in January, 1787, he followed her up with his ship Light Horse, with a like cargo for the same ports. It will be recalled that when the Grand Turk stopped at the Isle of France in the spring of 1786 she had not found business very active, and, moreover, had been unable to procure a cargo of East India goods there as she expected. The fact was, her arrival at the island was a little premature. Had she touched there a year later, she would have found conditions quite different. The decree of November 30, 1784, by which France gave permission to American vessels to trade at the Isle of France, had been of but little help to American merchants, because the original Compagnie des Indes Orientales, which controlled the business of the island, was not anxious to share it with Americans. In 1785, however, a new French East India Company had been formed, with a trading monopoly of all the French possessions in the Indies except the Isle of France, which island was opened to all who wished to trade there. This opportunity for free trading was quickly seized upon by all manner of Frenchmen, legitimate

merchants and reckless speculators alike, who hastened to this remote island in the middle of the Indian Ocean in the hope of making their fortunes. At the same time a host of Parsees, Cingalese, Chinese, Arabians, and other Orientals flocked to the Isle of France to do business with the French. The result was that this hitherto unimportant spot suddenly became the centre of a most thriving commerce, and the great increase in population so greatly overtaxed the resources of the little island that the prices of foodstuffs and other necessities rose to fabulous heights.

When the Grand Turk called at the Isle of France in the spring of 1786, the boom had hardly started; but when in the fall of the same year the Three Sisters reached there with a cargo of homely New England beef, pork, potatoes, cheese, fish, and flour, the population was in dire need of these staples, and the entire consignment was sold immediately at a great profit. The Light Horse also met with similar success, and both vessels loaded East India goods at the island for Salem. Thus encouraged, Mr. Derby determined to put a large part of his resources into this trade, and decided to send his son,

PORT LOUIS, ISLE OF FRANCE (MAURITIUS)

Elias Hasket Derby, Jr., out to the Isle of France to act as his agent in buying and selling cargoes. Young Derby had graduated from Harvard in 1786, and had then sailed as a passenger in the ship Astrea to the Baltic, after which he remained on the Continent and enjoyed an extended tour through the principal European countries. Upon his return to Salem in October, 1787, he spent a few weeks in his father's counting-house, and then, although he was only twenty-one years of age, his father appointed him captain of the Grand Turk, with instructions to prepare her for a voyage to the Isle of France. Although offered the position of sailing-master, Captain West declined, possibly not relishing the idea of sharing the command of the ship; and so John Williamson, who had been first mate on the Canton voyage, was promoted to sailing-master, while the actual management was left entirely to Elias Hasket, Jr.

In the meantime Mr. Derby had gathered together from many sources the usual cargo of New England produce, and when this had all been loaded on the Grand Turk it stood on his books at about $28,000. The manifest read as follows:

Manifest of the Cargo on Board the Ship Grand Turk, Elias H. Derby, Jr., Mast^r. from Salem to the Isle France & Elsewhere, 6 Dec. 1787

23 Pipes Madeira wine
58 Csk Bourdeaux wine
6 Cask Loaf Sugar
155 Barrl
50 Half Barl. } Flour
40 Teirces N. Eng. Rum 2482 ½ gal^l
99 Boxes Sper. candles
49 Boxes Chocolate
19 Hhd Tobacco wt. 17,266 ½ lb.
30 Tubbs steel
33 Casks whale Oyle
25 Teirces
75 Barl.
12 Casks bottled } Beer
31 Hhd. cod Fish
50 Barrells Tarr
3 Barrl. sewett
300 half barrl. Beef
100 half barrl. Pork
610 Firkins Butter
50 Boxes Cheese
163 Cases Geneva
53 Cases West India Rum
31 barrl.
20 half barl } Salmon
84 Keggs
38 Barrl. Mackerell
93 Kegg Sound
2 Csks ginsang
1 bagg Coffee 108
1 barrl Brandy 31½ gal.

Adventures

2 Hhd Tobacco 2151 lb.
2 pipes Madeira wine
143 ½ gall. N.E. Rum from R. Stone
1 pipe Madeira wine
2 half pipes Do.

On December 7, 1787, the Grand Turk sailed again from Salem for the Indian Ocean, with her $28,000 cargo stowed safely in her holds, and her destinies in the hands of a twenty-one-year-old commander. After a passage of a little over three months, she arrived, in February, 1788, at Port Louis in the Isle of France. The place now presented a very different appearance from that of two years before, when the Grand Turk had first touched there. Then the harbor contained but one great ship of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales, and a few native craft; now a large fleet of merchant vessels of many nationalities lay anchored in the roads, and the quays were piled high with the products of the Indies and of Europe. The streets of the little town were filled with people, and everywhere were evidences of business and prosperity.

The Grand Turk's cargo met with a ready sale, and Elias Hasket, Jr., soon found himself with ample funds and credits with which to

purchase a return lading. At this juncture, however, the voyage took a new turn. A French merchant of the island approached Captain Derby and offered him $13,000 for the Grand Turk just as she was. This offer appeared to the young man worthy of consideration, as his father valued the ship at only $7500, and had given him permission to sell her if an unusually favorable opportunity occurred. On the other hand, he did not wish to dispose of his ship without finding some other means of taking home a return cargo. He therefore made investigations, and found that he could buy two vessels then in port, the ship Peggy and the brig Sultana, for $6700 and $7750, respectively. Each of these vessels was nearly as large as the Grand Turk, while the price asked for the pair was little more than the amount offered him for his own ship. After considering the matter some time, no doubt with quite a little regret at the idea of parting with the famous old ship which had done so much to establish the family fortunes, young Derby finally decided to accept the Frenchman's offer. He accordingly sold the Grand Turk for $13,000, and with the proceeds purchased the Sultana and the Peggy.

With this transaction the first Grand Turk disappears from the annals of the past. Her purchaser undoubtedly changed her name, as no trace can be found of her subsequent career. The business, however, begun on her last voyage under the Derby flag resulted most profitably. With the proceeds of the sale of the Grand Turk's cargo at the Isle of France, Elias Hasket, Jr., procured sufficient goods to fill the two ships he had bought and with these he proceeded to Bombay. Here the cargoes were sold, and the Peggy was despatched to Salem with a full load of Indian cotton. Young Derby then returned to the Isle of France in the Sultana, loaded another cargo, which he took to Madras and sold, and then continued on to Calcutta. Here he was met by his father's ship Henry, which had come out to the Isle of France and at the son's orders had followed him to India. The Sultana was then sold in Calcutta, and, after procuring a full cargo of India goods for the Henry, Elias Hasket, Jr., took passage in her for home. He arrived in Salem in December, 1790, after an absence of three years, during which time he had built up an extensive business with India and had established the Derby house as the leading

American firm trading with the Isle of France.

Thus the Grand Turk in seven short years had seen the Derby house grow from a small concern, trading with the West Indies, to one of the leading mercantile establishments in America, with its ships familiar sights in such far-away places as Whampoa, Rangoon, l'Île de France, Batavia, Madras, and Mocha.

CHAPTER II

THE STORY OF THE SECOND *GRAND TURK* (1791–1795)

As Elias Hasket Derby's trade with the Isle of France and India grew, he gradually increased his fleet to meet the demands of this rapidly developing business. He soon had half a dozen vessels plying regularly from Salem to the Isle of France, carrying out cargoes of New England products and returning with merchandise of the East. Sometimes these ships came back to Salem direct from the Isle of France with cargoes obtained at that *entrepôt* of Eastern commerce; but more often they continued on to India, China, Java, or the Philippines, for their homeward lading. None of the Derby ships which made these extended voyages exceeded three hundred tons, yet they were considered good-sized vessels for their day. But in 1790 Mr. Derby was so encouraged by the growth of his business that he decided to build a new Grand Turk which would compare favorably with the great ships of the British, Dutch, and French East India Companies. He therefore engaged a well-known ship-builder, Enos Briggs,

of Pembroke, Massachusetts, to come to Salem and construct this new East-Indiaman. The ship was built on a lot of land 'next east of Mr. Isaac P. Foster's store, so near to Derby Street that her bowsprit projected partly over the street.' She was a three-decker of 560 tons, 124 feet length, 32 feet beam, and 16 feet depth, and was not only the largest ship built in Salem up to that time, but was almost twice the tonnage of any vessel hitherto owned by Mr. Derby. In view of her unprecedented size, her building was a source of much interest to the people of Salem. Thus a contemporary writes:[1]

'The Grand Turk was built at the head of Derby Wharf, but a little distance from the southerly terminus of my mother's garden. The circumstance of the building of the largest ship, and at a place which had not been used for ship-building, attracted the attention of many and particularly of the boys in the neighborhood. I visited the spot daily, and often many times daily, during the whole process of her building, so that there was hardly a timber of any considerable size which I did not see, either in its pre-

[1] *Robert Rantoul's Reminiscences.* Essex Institute Collections, October, 1863.

paration, or in its place in the body of the ship. So strong was my curiosity that I generally went to the shipyard before I went to school in the morning, again when the forenoon session was ended, and after school in the afternoon.'

The Reverend William Bentley, who might well be called the Samuel Pepys of early Salem, also took a lively interest in the great ship, and in his famous diary he makes frequent mention of her building:

March 27, 1790. 'The keel of Derby's Ship is laid.'

April 12, 1790. 'The Ship of Mr. E. H. Derby was raised this day & the Stern post, transoms, &c erected, &c.'

April 16, 1790. 'The ship goes on fast. The Delay of pine timber from the eastward, enabled to get the frames finished which they have raised without accident.'

Oct. 4, 1790. 'Visited with Capt. Hodges at the great Ship of Mr. Derby on the stocks. The work is highly commended but the ship blamed as too narrow.'

April 15, 1791. 'The head of the ship Grand Turk to be launched next month was set this afternoon by Mr. Robertson of Boston.'

May 16, 1791. 'Great preparations for launching.'

May 17, 1791. 'Ship to be launched on Thursday. They are digging a canal to deepen the water.'

May 19, 1791. An attempt 'was made to launch the ship, but without success. She did not move her length to the great Mortification of a numerous crowd of spectators.'

May 20, 1791. 'Last night the Ship was moved 10 feet, & in the day over the wharf. The inhabitants gave most generous assistance, & without damage, she is now so as to be able soon to float. The Persons present at the first view exceeded 9,000 persons.'

May 21, 1791. 'The Launching was a continued scene of Mortification. The work was excellently prepared, & tho' the ground was made, not a single defect appeared. The only fault was in the descent of the ways, & Mr. Derby objected to a greater elevation at the first laying of the Keel. Invitations were sent round, & round. There was a very handsome collation made by Mr. Derby for the workmen in the great unfinished House, & for the Gentleman in the Counting House & Store. No injuries were suffered in this compli-

cate operation of heaving, removing stages, blocks, & ways. The numbers on board, exceeding 200, did not shake her. Yesterday the Town Crier gave notice of the Launching, & asked assistance, which was most cheerfully granted. Last night she was drawn her length from the ways. It seems to be the prevailing opinion that the ill-success arose from the want of a just descent, which the elevation of the ship would not admit.'

Having at last been set afloat after so many attempts, the Grand Turk disappears from the records until December 25, 1791, when the Reverend Bentley mentions her again in his diary, this time in erudite Latin: 'Navis Maxima Derby hodie in aquas profundas Portus navigat. Incolae, nautae, et cives auxilium dant, parando.' On January 26, 1792, the diary reads as follows:

'The whole harbor is enclosed with ice of a foot thickness down to the Aquae Vitae rocks & the Haste. After dinner I took a walk from Derby's wharf to the great Ship, the Grand Turk, just within the Nogg's head & from thence onto the Marblehead shore, to an eminence from which we could view the top of the Houses in the Town of Marblehead. We found many persons on the ice,

& on board the ship, & met Mr. E. H. Derby with his two daughters riding in a slay upon the ice to the Ship & they were saluted upon their arrival by the hoisting of the flag. The eel catchers and Skaiters were upon the harbour, & many traveling from Marblehead.'

It was almost eight months after her launching before Mr. Derby began preparations for sending the Grand Turk on her first voyage. With so many of his fleet engaged in Eastern trade, and with so much capital afloat, he probably found it difficult to finance a full lading for the great ship until some of his other vessels returned and he had realized on their cargoes. Early in 1792, however, Mr. Derby was making arrangements to despatch the Grand Turk to Calcutta direct, and by the end of February he had secured and loaded on board a complete cargo suitable for the Calcutta market. On February 3, 1792, Bentley's diary contains the following: 'Captain Benjamin Hodges agreed yesterday to take the command of the Grand Ship, the Grand Turk, now lying in the harbor, belonging to Elias Hasket Derby.' Captain Hodges had long been in Mr. Derby's employ, and was eminently fitted to be the commander of Salem's greatest ship. His crew con-

BENJAMIN HODGES.

First President of the EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY:
& first Navigator of the Indiaue-Chinese Seas
from Salem, Mass: U.S. America.
Died April 15. A.D. 1806. aet: 62.

sisted of five mates, a doctor (who also acted as clerk), a boatswain, a cooper or caulker, a steward, two cooks, and eighteen seamen — certainly a generous crew for a merchant vessel 124 feet long. The wages specified in the ship articles are worthy of note. Captain Hodges received £3 a month, and had the privilege of carrying five tons of cargo on his own account with which to speculate. The second mate likewise received £3 a month, but his privilege was three and one half tons. The third mate's wage was £2–14–0 plus one and one half tons privilege, while the fourth and fifth mates and the doctor or clerk had £2–14–0 each and ten hundredweight apiece as privilege. The boatswain received £2–11–0 and ten hundredweight privilege. The rest of the crew were entitled to no privilege, and received the following straight monthly wages: the cooper or caulker, £2–10–0; the steward, £2–8–0; the eighteen sailors, £2–8–0 apiece; and the two cooks, £2–5–0 each.

There remains no copy of the Grand Turk's outward manifest on her first voyage, but no doubt she carried a cargo similar to those sent out on the other vessels bound to the Isle of France and India. Owing to the size of the ship,

Mr. Derby did not try to fill the entire space himself, but carried a number of consignments for other Salem merchants. Among these shipments was a phaëton with harness and trappings complete, which an enterprising Salem carriage-builder hoped would meet the fancy of a Maharajah of the Punjab. Mr. Derby knew that the return cargo, to be purchased in India, would cost more than the proceeds of the outward cargo of New England products, and he therefore procured forty thousand Spanish milled dollars, which were placed on board the ship and securely locked away in strong iron-bound boxes. In the meantime he had been negotiating with his underwriters in New York regarding insurance, and he finally arranged to have the Grand Turk and her cargo covered for £6000 at nine per cent 'from Salem to all and every ports and places where and whatsoever in the East Indies China and Persia in port and at sea and at all times untill her arrival at her discharging port in the United States.' Six thousand pounds was of course much less than half the value of ship and cargo; but it was Mr. Derby's practice to insure for only about half the value of his ventures, and risk the balance himself, thus minimizing his premiums. An

interesting example of the merchant's precaution and foresight is shown in the following letter of instructions given to Captain Hodges regarding the care of the ship and her cargo:

Orders for B. Hodges mastr & Jos Moseley mate of Ship Grand Turk 7 Mar. 1792

Capt. Hodges, —

In such a Voyage as you are now going upon there are many things that you must ever bare in mind — a few that respects the safety of the Ship I will mention. Never suffer any *spirit* to be drawn after night — nor at any time under Deck — but at the Store Room — nor allow of any Powder to be kept in any place except in the Magazine on Deck — make it a constant practice every Saturday to have the Chimney of the Galley swept down least by this neglect it might set the Ship on Fire — and I believe it will be safer for the Ship without the Funnel — Keep a constant watch on Deck while in Port & the more so on acct. of the danger of fire in the Galley — You must make the Ship leak so much as to give two good spells a Day at least — Keep the Hatches open so as to keep the ship cool & have a wind sail if there is occasion, as heat in the hold will

damage the Ship — Have the hold & Decks examined every Day, as perhaps after some Gale you may find some defect & may prevent the damage of considerable of the Cargo — Be very careful in the Dunnage of the Ship to take in her cargo — there need be no ballast left in provided there is very particular care taken in making Stowage of the Sugar in Bags & Hogsh^{ds}, the ship will I suppose load without much on the Gun Deck — let the Ginger, pepper & every light article be on that Deck — When the ship is unloaded in Calcutta I wish you to make 2 or 3 Hogshds of very strong pickle & let some of your hands take a cloth & wash the Ship in the hold & in the lower Deck in every part, the same as you would scower of a Floor & if you have any Salt left put it on the Knees.

On March 11, 1792, the Grand Turk sailed from Salem bound for Calcutta. The original log of this voyage[1] is now in the Library of the Essex Institute in Salem, and the following extracts, quaintly recorded therein by Captain Hodges, give a fair idea of one of these long East India voyages:

[1] A track chart of this voyage is given in the front end-paper.

Sunday 11*th March*, 1792. At 3 P.M. weighed Anchor and came to sail. The wind west and a strong gale which occasioned the Gentlemen that accompay^d^ me onbo^d^ to leave the Ship immediately. Great numbers of our Friends assembled at the old Fort, & expressed their good Wishes in the old English custom of three Huzzas which was cheerfully returned by all on board.

April 20*th* — in Neighborhood St. Paul's Rocks. Lat. 0° 27′ N. Long. 23° 50′ W.

May 9*th* — Lat. 18° 42′ S. Long. 36° 11′ W. Got 32 fathoms soundings — judged her to be the extreme of the Bank Abrohollos.

May 31*st* — At 7 A.M. saw the Island called Tristan d'Acogna[1] which is high Land. Appears to be about 4 or 5 Leagues in circumference. Much snow to be seen on it. Where the Island bore S ½ W. distance 10 Leagues appearance as follows:

Saturday June 9*th* — Hard Gale of wind from the Norrod & thik dark Gloomy weather with Rain & a high Sea. Our Ship is Bold & makes

[1] Tristan da Cunha.

good weather under a Reeft Fore Sail Miz & Main Staisailes & Clost Reeft M. T. Sail which we are obliged to keep the latter sett to keep the Ship steady. Middle part moderate and Sea falls. Much Rain." Ends Rainy the wind halls Westerly.

M. dist. from T. d Cuna — 495′ E.

Friday June 22nd — Fine breeze of wind pleasant weather & smoothe Sea.

At 4 P.M. saw the Land in the N.E.

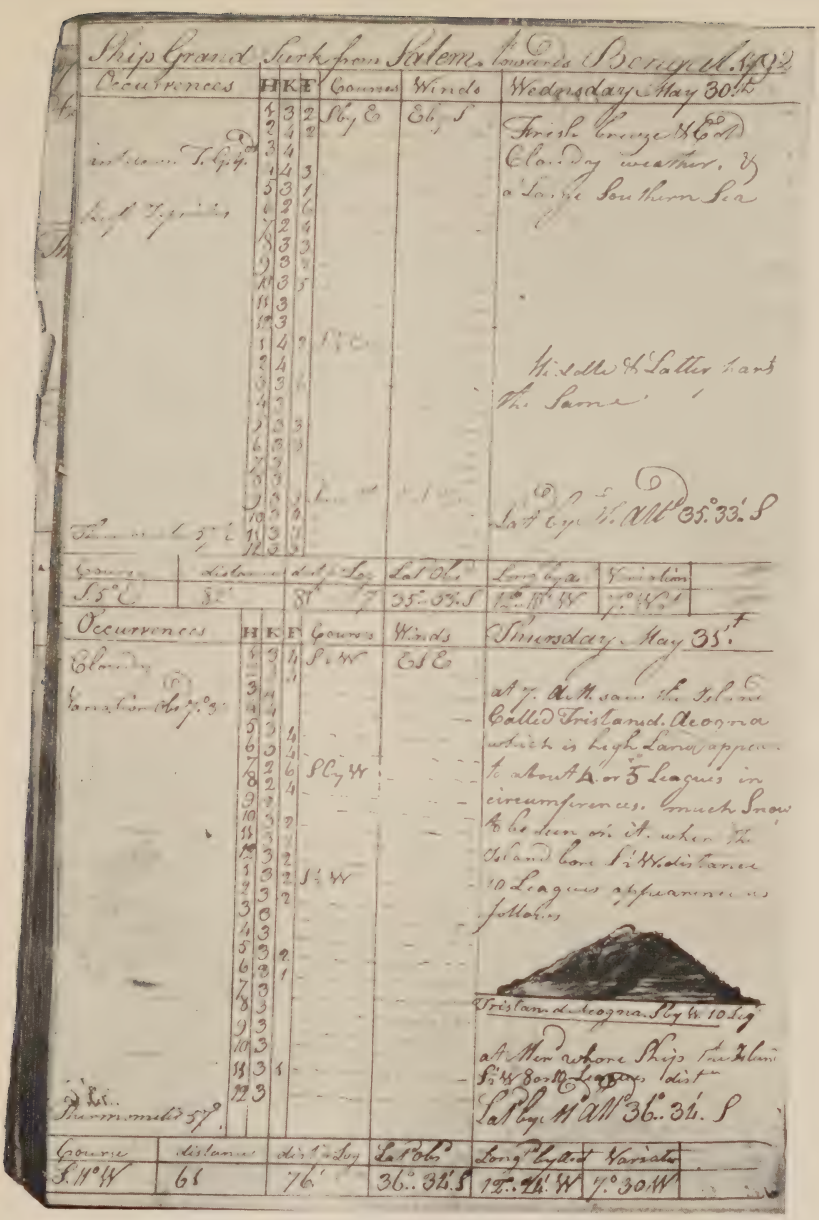
At 5 ditto the Cape Good Hope about N E by E ½ E dist 10 Leagues. Middle part cloudy & some Rain.

At 8 A.M. Cape Lagullas bore N N E dist 8 Leagues.

June 30th. A ship passed us that hath been in sight 6 days — an imperious Englishman and would not speak us.

Wed. July 18th. These 24 hours blowing rainy weather. For three days we have not seen Sun or Stars. The clouds Low & very Gloomy.

> The darkened sky how thick it lowers
> Troubled with stormes & big with showers
> No cheerful gleam of light appears
> But nature pours forth all her tears.



Ships Grand Turk from Salem towards Bering St. 1792

Occurrences | H | K | E | Courses | Winds | Wednesday May 30th

1 3 2 | Sby E | E by S | Fresh Gales & Cloudy weather, & a Sea like Southern Sea
2 4 2
3 4
4 4 3
5 3 1
6 3 6
7 2 4
8 3 3
9 3 3
10 3 5
11 3
12 3
1 4 2 | N E
2 4
3 3
4 3
1 3 3
2 3
3 3
4 3
5 3
6 3
7 3
8 3
9 3
10 3
11 3
12 3

Wind Sable & Latter Hard the Same

Lat Obs. W. All 35°.33'. S

Course	Distance	dist Lo	Lo	Lat Obs	Long by a	Variation
S 5° E	82	81	7	35°.33'.S	12°.11'.W	7°.30'.W

Occurrences | H | K | E | Courses | Winds | Thursday May 31st

1 3 4 | S & W | E by E | Cloudy
2 4
3 4
4 4
5 3 4
6 3 4
7 2 6 | SE by W
8 2 4
9 3
10 3 2
11 3
12 3
1 3 2 | S & W
2 3 2
3 3
4 3
5 3 2
6 3 1
7 3
8 3
9 3
10 3
11 3 1
12 3

Variation Obs'd 7°.3'

at 7. A.M. saw the Island Called Tristland. Acogna which is high Land appears about 4 or 5 Leagues in circumference. much Snow to be seen on it. when the Island bore S.W. distance 10 Leagues appearance as follows

Tristland Acogna. S by W. 10 Leg

at Noon ashore Ships Island S.W. 8 or 10 Leagues dist.

Lat by M. All 36°.34'. S

Course	Distance	dist Lo	Lo	Lat Obs	Long by Log.	Variation
S.W.W	66	76		36°.32'.S	12°.41'.W	7°.30.W

PAGE FROM THE LOG-BOOK OF THE SECOND GRAND TURK

Long passage dark Gloomy weather, very unpropitious the Blue Devils hover round. Neptune seems determined to be unfavorable.

Friday July 20th. Blowing a hard gale with much Rain & Sea. Neptune seems determined to be unfavorable, however we are Lowering our Lat. & in spite of him will have fine weather soon.

Saturday August 4th. Moderate & pleasant. At 3 P.M. took a sudden gust of wind from N W. severale whirl winds passed the Ship. if any had taken a Saile it would certainly destroyed it but fortunately they did not.

Sunday August 5th. Moderate Monsoon breeze & hazey sky. Keept a good lookout for Severale nights past. one Man on the Bowsprit, another on the Fore Yd. though I did not expect to fall in with anything but anxious about my Land fall though I doubt not it will be good.

Tuesday, August 7th. At 6 A.M. saw the Island of Ceylon bearring N N E dist 5 Leagues. At 8 A.M. Dunderhead boar N N E 3 Leag. At Meri^{d} halled more Northerly the Coast trending N.E.

Friday August 10th. Light wind and fair Southerly. At 3 P.M. a Man fell overboard. The Ship before the wind & all the Steering Sails sett. A most unfavourable situation, but the Boats took him up in 6 minutes from the time of his falling in the water.

Thursday August 16th. Sailed in 14 to 16 fathoms water. At 2 P.M. saw the celebrated Pagoda of Jagernaut & at 6 it bore W N W dist. 1½ or 2 degrees.

Friday August 17th. At 8 P.M. spake one of the Pilot Schooners as they term them which are all Rigged Snows proper & was furnised with a Pilot. Steered to N N W under short sails all night to 9 & 12 fathoms. At day Light made saile but the weather comeing on bad Thunder Lightning & Rain with much wind obliged us to anchor at 9 A.M. in 9 fathoms. Ends Rain and durty Weather. Three Ships at anchor near us & Severale Vessels in sight.

August 18th Saturday. Lowery Sky & very unpleasant. At 4 P.M. weighed with the wind S W, & favourable prospect but the oald Rogue Nep-

tune which has been unfavourable most of the Passage or *some other cause* soon changed the prospect by the wind from N W & W. Our progress about 10 miles & anchored at 9 the tide being spent, in 6 fathoms at the Lower Buoy of the Barratolla. The day endes blowing & light Rain Squalls. The trees on the low Land about Hugley River in sight.

Sunday August 19th. Wind N E. Strong gale & much Sea. Our depth of water 6 fathoms soft Bottom half a mile dist from the Lower Baratolla Bouy. Much wind from N E & East all night & Rain. At 9 A.M. started our anchor & dropt the Best Bower. Brought up in 5 fathoms water which made our situation very unfavorable, & brought us in the Horse [1] of our Pilot Schooner which Obliged him to cut his cable. Our Ship rides hard & Pitches Bowsprit under. Obliged to expend the Pump Leather that is in cargo for the Service of our Cables.

Monday Aug. 20th. The Wind veers easterly the Gale continues extreme Hard & a most Terrible Sea which Breaks over the Ship, bothe

[1] The hawser.

Cables veered out except sufficient to fresh the Horse.

Towards Sun setting the wind moderatted & Veered southerly & soon increased & Blowed Harder then it had from the N.E., which made our situation very dangerous. All Hands keept constantly employed attending our cables. In the Morning found our Nable woods of the Horse Holes split. The wind Moderated some & the Tide favourable began at day light to heave in our Cables, which were badly situated from the Shift of wind & Tide which tooke an elbow in them. We soon found it necessary to cut one for the preservation of the other & the Ship then pitching Forecastle under Rendered it impossible to pass a Hawser Round the other cable, by which had it been practicable we might have saved the Anchor. The Wind S W. & appearance of Blowing Hard.

Tuesday August 21th. At 3 P.M. we Got our Anchor after much difficulty, the Cable much strained, the more as it is much under size. Expend 50 fathoms of 7 Inch Hawser for stoppers. At Sun setting anchored in Ingulea Road 6½ fathoms water. Blowing fresh. Wind from

S.S.W. & much Rain all Night. At day light weighed anchor & at Meridian Anch'd. in Culpee. Severale Vessels in Sight dismantled & Severale passed us which have Lost all their Anchors in the gale. On the morning of the 22d weighed our anchor & proceeded up the River with the Flood which enabled us to Reach Futtee which is a small Dutch Settlement. On the 23d anchored in Garden Reach in Sight of Calcutta. On the 24th arrived at Calcutta at 5 P.M. Anchored off Champall Gant.

For four months the Grand Turk remained at anchor in the Hugli River, while Captain Hodges negotiated the sale of his cargo of New England products, and laid out the proceeds, as well as his hoard of Spanish dollars, in a cargo of sugar, pepper, India cotton, silks, nankeens, bandannas, sandalwood, and other products of the East. Unfortunately, the homeward manifest of the Grand Turk is missing, and it is therefore impossible to tell exactly what she loaded at Calcutta, but Captain Hodges' balance sheet shows that the outward cargo when sold realized 45,000 Sicca rupees, while his 40,000 Spanish dollars were converted in the Calcutta bazaars into

81,000 rupees, making a total of 126,000 rupees. Of this amount 115,000 rupees, or approximately $57,000, were laid out in a homeward cargo and the balance was used for the ship's disbursements during her stay in port.

The Grand Turk was not the only Derby vessel then trading in India, and it so happened that while she was lying at Calcutta, Mr. Derby's ship Astrea, Captain Gibaut, arrived at Madras with a part cargo brought from Salem via the Isle of France. Captain Gibaut had contracted to purchase homeward cargo for the Astrea both at Madras and at Calcutta, when he received an offer to charter his ship from Madras to Rangoon with a cargo of rice. Burma was a field of trade untried by Mr. Derby, and Captain Gibaut welcomed this opportunity to visit a new market where he might find unusual merchandise and favorable trading conditions. He knew that the Grand Turk had just arrived at Calcutta, and he conceived the idea of having her take over the return cargo intended for the Astrea at Calcutta and Madras. He accordingly wrote to Captain Hodges at Calcutta, and eventually arranged for the Grand Turk to lift the Astrea's commitments. Captain Gibaut then closed his ship on the rice

VIEW FROM THE ESPLANADE, CALCUTTA
From a print published in 1797 after a drawing by Thomas Daniell

charter, and soon started across the Bay of Bengal to Rangoon. Upon arriving in that port, his affairs suddenly took a most unexpected turn. The Sultan of Pegu, then ruler of those regions, happened at the moment to be at war with the King of Siam and needing a vessel to transport troops and supplies to the Gulf of Siam, he was pleased to observe the arrival in his waters of a vessel which suited his needs exactly. As she carried a flag entirely unknown to him, without more ado he seized upon Captain Gibaut in the streets of Rangoon and confined him in his palace as a hostage. He then sent a detachment of armed men out to the Astrea with instructions to take possession of her. This being accomplished, a body of troops, together with their supplies, was put on board the Derby ship, and her first mate was compelled to navigate her around to the Gulf of Siam, where the troops and supplies were discharged. Captain Gibaut was held in the meantime at Rangoon until the vessel returned, when both ship and master were released by the imperious Sultan, the whole affair costing Mr. Derby some $10,000.

But to return to the Grand Turk. By Christmas, 1792, Captain Hodges had finished loading

at Calcutta, and on December 30th, having completed his affairs, he started on the homeward passage. Extracts from his log follow:

Sunday 30th December, 1792. Embarked on bod a Buggeron, which is a very convenient passage Boat & proceeded down River to the Ship where we arrived on Monday 31st, the Ship at Culpee. The next morning droped down Below Channel Creek where we detained three days by calms. Our Boats whent on shore & procured considerable wood & saw many Dear, wild Hens & Cocks the same as our domestick Fowls & many Tyger Tracks. The Tyger here is very dangerous & it is necessary to be cautious & not adventure in the woods. Our People killed one Dear, which is a proofe they are not very shy — Whilst lying here we Lost one anchor our Cable parted on the Flood.

Sunday the 6th Jany. 1793. Weighed with the wind from the Norrod & Run down to Keggeny where we discharged our Last Sloop, the Ship's draught of water would not allow the whole taken onbo[d] at Culpee. At Meridian weighed from Keggeny & at Sunsett anchored in Saugor Roads.

Monday the 7th Jany 1793. At 4 A.M. Weighed Anchor from Saugor Roads the Wind N.N.E. & Pleasant breeze. At 11 A.M. the Pilot Left the Ship in 5½ fathoms. Lat observed 21° 19′ N.

Thursday, 17th Jany. Fresh Breeze and pleasant. At 2 P.M. saw the ships in Madrass Roads, at 5 anchored 9½ fathoms the Flagstaff W ½ S. about 2 miles off shore. Sent down T.G. Yds.

The Grand Turk lay in the open roadstead off Madras for about three weeks, while the cargo purchased by Captain Gibaut at that port for the Astrea was brought out to the Grand Turk through the surf in lighters. Captain Hodges had so carefully figured his stowage that when all had been loaded on the Grand Turk, her holds and 'tweendecks were completely filled, and the carpenter battened down the hatches to make the rich cargo secure for the long homeward voyage to Salem.

The log then reads as follows:

Wed. Feb. 6th, 1793. Light winds from the Eastward and at Meridian weighed anchor in Madrass Roads Bound for Salem, U.S. America.

Thursday, Feb. 7th. At daylight saw the Island Ceyloan bear'g W S W dist. 6 or 8 Leagues. At Meridian Chimney Hill boare W.S.W. 7 or 8 Leg. dist.

Friday Feb. 8th. All Hands employed in Beating the dry Hides which the Worms haveing taken them.

Sat. March 9th. Smooth Sea. Everything favourable yet Cussidly Stuped. N.B. Feal two great wants namely, Society and exercise.

Wednesday March 13th. Fine wind & weather. The ship we saw yesterday came up & spoke us. She proved to be the Cornette from Bengall & spoke the Ponsborn E.I. Sh. three days ago. The Ponsborn Left Madras 8 days after us & must now be ahead of us as she outsailed the Cornette which out Sails us a Knot in 6. This is most certainly Discouraging. Ends gloomy & dark Sky with Light Rain.

Tuesday, Aprl. 2d. Moderate & pleasant much Swell from ye Westard. At 6 P.M. Cape Lagullas bore N.E. & the Gunners Qouin N.N.W. about

6 Legs. The westermost Land in sight N.N.W. ½ W is two high Bluffs. Fresh Breeze all night. At daylight saw Capt. Falso bear'g N.N.E. 8 Leg^{s}. dist. At 8 A.M. saw Table Hill. At Mer^{d}. Table Hill boare E. 8 Leg^{s}. dist.

Thursday, April 18th. In the morning I saw the Island St. Helena bearing N W by N 10 Leagues dist^{n}. At 10 A.M. saw three ships to the Eastward steering for the Island. At Mid saw one to be Dutch. Ends pleasant. At the Merd the Middle of the Island N W by W. 2 Leagues dist. Lat. obs'd 16° 0″ S. Long. by ye above bearg 5° 46′ W.

Frid. Apr. 19th. Cloudy pleasent Weather. At 2 P.M. saw 4 Ships at anch^{or} in St. Helena Roads. The 3 ships which we saw to ye Eastrd & are bound into the Roads.

Wednesday April 24th. In the morning saw the Island Ascension N.W.W. 5 Leagues dist^{ce}.

Sat. June 1st. A Bermuda built Schoo. passed us & halled out of the way & did not speak us.

Saturday June 8th. Exceeding fine weather & smooth Sea. Spoke the Ship Sally Capt. Benj^{m}. Weeks from Philadelphia. 6 day out bound to St. Andero his Long 65° 48′ W.

Monday June 10th. Fine Breeze & very thick of Fogg. Having no Observat'n. Obliges me to sound often & find various depths of water & different Bottom but allway^{s} Sand with Shells, Stones, Gravell or white Shells. Suppose it near the shoal of Georges. Several Vessels in sight.

Tuesday June 11th. Fresh Breeze & fine Weath^{r}. Smooth Sea. At day Light saw several fishing Boats. Sent onto & Obtained a Halaboat & 6 Codfish. The persons in the Boat judged Cape Ann to bear S W by W 13 Leagues dist. A ship & two Sloops in sight making to windw^{d}. Lat^{d} by M^{d} Alt^{d} 42° 37′ W.

On June 12, 1793, the Grand Turk anchored in Salem Harbor, after a voyage of one year and three months. The cargo which she brought home was the largest and the second most valuable landed in Salem up to that time. Captain Hodges' purchases in Calcutta amounted to about

$57,000, and the Astrea's cargo taken on at that port and at Madras was worth about $30,000 more, while the duties assessed by the Salem Custom House on this great cargo came to no less than $24,369.42. When the goods were finally discharged, they filled Mr. Derby's warehouses to overflowing, and it must have been a long time before he disposed of this large importation and realized his profits thereon.

The Grand Turk remained tied up at her owner's wharf all through the summer of 1793, and underwent the usual overhauling always given the vessels upon their return from the Orient. As autumn approached, Mr. Derby became somewhat perplexed over the problem of arranging another voyage which would ensure a profitable return for his great ship. As most of his fleet were then engaged in the East India trade, he felt that he had enough capital in that quarter for the time being, and was disinclined to involve himself further in those markets by sending the Grand Turk in the same direction. He therefore decided to try the ship in a different trade, and in the fall of 1793 prepared to despatch her to Virginia, there to load tobacco for Europe. Captain Hodges did not continue in the ship; but Joseph

Moseley, who had been first mate on the Calcutta voyage, was given command. In lieu of ballast for the run to Virginia, Mr. Derby put on board a small consignment of sugar and barrelled beef, to be exchanged for tobacco. He also gave Captain Moseley post-notes at three days' sight on various Virginia merchants to the amount of about £3000, together with 'a bag containing 670 dollars.' On November 10, 1793, the Grand Turk sailed from Salem; and a week or so later she passed in by the Virginia Capes, and making her way up the James River, anchored off City Point near Petersburg. Captain Moseley then called upon Gordon Bacchus, Mr. Derby's agent, and began negotiations for the purchase of a cargo of tobacco for the Grand Turk. At the same time he offered for sale the small consignment of sugar and beef which he had on board.

On January 3d, about six weeks after his arrival at Petersburg, Captain Moseley wrote to Mr. Derby that he had sold only half of his sugar, and that the price of tobacco was so high he had purchased thus far very little and had but one hundred and fifty-eight hogsheads loaded. In fact, the Grand Turk remained at anchor in the James River all through the winter of 1794, while Mr.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH MOSELEY

Bacchus negotiated for tobacco with planters throughout Virginia.

Mr. Derby was even then undecided in what market to offer this cargo, as England and France had once more become embroiled in war and had issued decrees authorizing their men-of-war to capture all vessels bound to or from each other's ports. These decrees caused much consternation among American ship-owners, for most of their trade was with France and England or their colonies, and such drastic measures made it impossible to continue this commerce without running the risk of having their vessels seized by one or the other of the warring nations. In view of these conditions, Mr. Derby decided to have the Grand Turk return to Salem, there to await developments in Europe before sailing for foreign parts. On February 22d he wrote to Captain Moseley as follows:

'Capt. Thos. Webb arrived here last Evening from Eustatia in 25 days, he brings advice that the Frigates & British Cruisers in the West Indies is taking every American vessel that is going to or coming from the French West India Islands. — this is done in consequence of a Proclimation from England of the sixth of November.

There was 20 Sail in at St. Kitts, 15 at Mont Serat — the most of these if not all will be condemned — of course it will bring on War. I therefore order you to come with the Ship to Salem as soon as you can — even if the Ship is not quite loaded. I do not think there is immediate danger on this coast, but it is best to keep from any Vessels you see on the passage home.'

On receipt of this letter, Captain Moseley made preparations to leave Petersburg. He had so far contracted for 721 hogsheads of tobacco, costing £7706, and while this did not completely fill the ship, it gave her a fair cargo. About March 20th, the tobacco had all been loaded, and the Grand Turk once more got under way and proceeded down the James River out to sea. No British vessels were sighted, and she arrived safely back in Salem in the first week in April.

On March 22d, Mr. Derby had written to his New York agent, Edward Gould, as follows:

'You say in your last there is but very little danger of a War — when Great Britain will give instruction to their ships to take our Vessels — & not publish those instructions till two Months after they are given out & some time after they have been put in Execution — I do not see that

we have anything to expect but War from such a piraticall Nation — I have two valuable Vessels I believe among the number Captured.'

Mr. Derby's fears were justified, for his fine ship the Light Horse was captured on her way to France, and his brigantine Rose was taken on her way home from the French West Indies. Thoroughly aroused by these incidents, Mr. Derby wrote to the Honorable Benjamin Goodhue, Congressman from his district, regarding these captures by British men-of-war:

'I trust my Government will never submit to such treatment, while we have it in our power to make them due us Justice. We have spirit & ability to stand in our own defence. I am sure there is a disposition to do every thing Congress may think for the best & I hope you will not suffer us to be further insulted by those Pirats.'

The Grand Turk had meanwhile been lying idly at anchor in Salem with her cargo of Virginia tobacco still on board, no doubt greatly to her owner's annoyance. But the departure of Jay for England in May seemed to indicate that affairs would be settled by negotiation, rather than by war, and Mr. Derby then decided to risk sending the ship to Europe. About this time he

received a letter from Casper Voght, his agent at Hamburg, regarding the opportunities of trade at that port. 'There never was a period,' wrote Herr Voght, 'more inviting to shipments this Way considering the abundance of East and particularly West Indies Produces in your Ports and the Briskness of our Market for all these articles, as Coffee, Sugars, Indigo, Saltpetre, ginger, cotton, wool etc., all North & East of Europe being now confined only to this Place for Provision. The inclosed state of the Market shews the Advantages to be expected, and by the Reason above mentioned the Prices quoted may rather be considered starting, so as Tobacco allready are by a continued scantiness of store and a Brisk Demand. Meantime our Exports ought by the present circumstances the longer the more to be wellcome with you, and the Benefits which they allready offer must by all appearance increase.' This timely information determined Mr. Derby to despatch the Grand Turk to Hamburg. Preparations for the voyage started at once, and the balance of the ship's space not already occupied by the tobacco was filled with bags of Indian coffee and aloes from the warehouses on Derby Wharf. Captain Moseley's orders were to take

the ship to Hamburg, and after disposing of the tobacco, coffee, and aloes at that port, to take drafts on London; then to proceed in ballast up the Baltic to Saint Petersburg, and there buy a cargo of iron, hemp, and canvas for Salem. The following statement, appended to the captain's sailing orders, shows how Mr. Derby figured out the sales and returns of such a voyage:

Calculation for Russia

You are to receive at Hamburg	£11,000 Stlg.
To be laid out in a Cargo at Russia for Salem —	
250 Tons old gable iron at £9	2250
300 Tons clean hemp £15	4500
40 Tons Russia clean Tallow @ 3^{d} stg	1100
200 ps Russia Sheathg. @ 44/	440
1172 ps. Russia duck @ 36 /	2109
Charges & found dues	601
	Stlg. 11000

In Russia buy for me

2 pair large geese } I have been informed they are much larger in that Country than we have any here.

2 pair do ducks }

Captain Moseley,

Bring me the best of Sable to make me four Muffs & Tippets — bring me four pieces of fine Bedticks, that is Clouded. The whole is for my Family's use; You will take the Mercht's judgment of the Quality.

On June 8, 1794, the Grand Turk set sail from Salem and laid her course across the Atlantic. After a passage of thirty-eight days, she took on her pilot at the mouth of the River Elbe, and on the 17th of July arrived at Hamburg. Captain Moseley immediately communicated with Herr Voght, and arrangements were made to lighter the cargo to the latter's warehouse in the city. There being a brisk demand for coffee, the consignments of two hundred bags in the Grand Turk's cargo met with a ready sale, as did the small lot of aloes; but since the market for tobacco was somewhat overstocked, Herr Voght suggested to Captain Moseley that he leave this part of the cargo in the warehouse until prices improved. In order not to delay the ship, pending the sale of the tobacco, the Hamburg merchant gave Captain Moseley drafts on John and Francis Baring and Company of London to the amount of £8000, in advance payment, and agreed to remit to Saint Petersburg the balance due as soon as all the tobacco was sold. When writing Mr. Derby of these arrangements, Herr Voght added:

'Ye continuation of peace between ye United States and England now is generally considered as

certain. There are allso some Hopes of Peace with France; but very precarious indeed. Meanwhile ye French are victorious everywhere. They proceed into Spain. Holland is in great danger of Invasion. Trade in Spain, in France, in ye Netherlands, in Holland is ruined. Purchasers allso are shy to give their Orders to England, and so all concurrs to this Place; the only great Market, where, Thanks to God, we do our Business in Peace and Quiet.'

About two weeks after her arrival the Grand Turk had completely discharged her cargo and had dropped down the river to take on ballast, preparatory to sailing by the first fair wind. On August 10th, a good southerly gave the ship a chance to get clear of the Elbe and, having successfully negotiated the sandbars at the mouth of the river, she proceeded on her way up the western coast of Denmark, around through the Cattegat, and so into the Baltic. On August 30th, she passed Elsinore, and on September 10th she arrived at Saint Petersburg. The Russian trade was not new to Mr. Derby, for although he had devoted most of his energies since the Revolution to Far-Eastern commerce, he had nevertheless despatched quite a number of vessels to the Bal-

tic; his ship Light Horse having been, in 1784, the first American vessel to visit those waters. Mr. Derby's agents in Saint Petersburg were the Brothers Blandon, and to this house Captain Moseley reported on his arrival. Through them he undertook to obtain a homeward cargo of iron, hemp, canvas, and tallow, according to Mr. Derby's directions. Captain Moseley had received from Herr Voght drafts on Barings amounting to a total of £10,381, as proceeds of the tobacco and other cargo at Hamburg, less expenses. These drafts enabled the captain to purchase the following cargo — 230 tons of iron, 253 bales of hemp, 78 casks of green candle tallow, a consignment of candles, and 42 sable skins, the last being intended for the '4 muffs and tippets' for Mrs. Derby, as specified in the sailing orders. Such excellent despatch did the Brothers Blandon give to this business that in a little over a month the full homeward cargo had been procured and loaded on board the Grand Turk. It had been an unusually busy season at Saint Petersburg, and no less than forty-one American vessels had visited the port that year. A large number of these ships had already sailed for Boston or Salem, and Captain Moseley feared that he might find those

cities overstocked with Russian goods on his return. As Mr. Derby had given him the option of returning either to Salem or New York, Captain Moseley chose the latter port, in the belief that it would prove the better market for his cargo. On October 16th, the Grand Turk resumed her voyage and set sail for New York. A continued succession of head winds delayed her in the Baltic, and it was not until November 28th that she finally passed out by Elsinore and thus through the North Sea into the Atlantic.

At about the time the Grand Turk was beating down the Baltic on her homeward voyage, Mr. Derby received Mr. Voght's letter of August 2d, informing him that the cargo of tobacco would probably realize about £10,000, and that Captain Moseley was ready to sail from Hamburg for Saint Petersburg to invest these proceeds in a homeward lading. Mr. Derby immediately communicated with his underwriters in New York regarding insurance for the return voyage. In the previous spring, when the ship had sailed for Europe, he had been obliged to pay a nine per cent insurance premium because of the possibility of war with England. By the fall, however, Jay's negotiations at the British Court had so

mended relations between the two countries that the fear of hostilities was largely allayed, and consequently Mr. Derby was able to place $30,000 insurance on the Grand Turk and her cargo from Saint Petersburg to America at six per cent. As he did not know whether the ship would return to New York or to Salem, he wrote Edward Gould, his agent in New York, to be on the lookout for her there toward the end of December. But December and January passed without the ship's arrival at either port, and Mr. Derby and his underwriters grew apprehensive for her safety. At length, however, on February 17, 1795, the Grand Turk came in past Sandy Hook and anchored in New York Harbor, after a passage unduly prolonged by the westerly winter gales in the North Atlantic.

As soon as the ship was docked, discharging began and the cargo was offered for sale. Mr. Gould's accounting with Mr. Derby some months later shows that the proceeds came to $59,225.64. The ship's outward lading had cost £9000, or about $43,000, and thus the profit on the cargo itself amounted approximately to $16,000. While this would appear to be a good return on the original investment, it must be

borne in mind that the entire transaction covered a period of at least a year and a half. Mr. Derby had begun to prepare the Grand Turk for this voyage in October, 1793, but, owing to the delay in obtaining tobacco in Virginia and the time lost in Salem Harbor before her owner ventured to send her out, it was June, 1794, before she actually started on the trans-Atlantic passage, and March, 1795, before the round voyage was completed and the cargo sold in New York. During the greater part of the eighteen months the ship had on board a full crew, whose wages and victualling for this period amounted to about $6000. Moreover, the insurance premiums on ship and cargo totalled $4000 for the voyage, although Mr. Derby had covered the property at only half its value. The port charges, pilotage, tonnage taxes, and incidentals at the different ports of call came to at least $3000. The actual net profits were therefore not so very great, considering the time and risks involved.

Upon the Grand Turk's return from Russia, Mr. Derby seems to have concluded that she was too large to be practicable for his business. She was nearly twice the size of any of his other ships and required so numerous a crew that it made

her very expensive to operate. He constantly had to admonish Captain Moseley to 'use all despatch as your ship sails under great expense.' At the time Mr. Derby built the Grand Turk he was prompted by an over-ambitious desire to own a vessel like the great ships of the European East India companies; but while the financing of a cargo for a big East Indiaman did not particularly strain the resources of such a concern as the 'United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies,' it was quite a different matter for a single merchant like Mr. Derby to manage so large a vessel by himself. The size of his business did not justify the placing of so much money in one bottom. He found by experience that it was better to divide the same investment between two smaller ships, which could be despatched at different times to different ports, and so distribute his risks.

In short, Mr. Derby began to find his great ship something of a white elephant, and he therefore wrote to Mr. Gould that he had decided to sell the Grand Turk, and asked him to endeavor to dispose of her in the New York market. 'It is the very best ship that I ever built,' he wrote, 'but it is too large for me to manage with ease to

myself. I do not know so good a ship on the continent for an Indiaman. This ship cost me when I built her Thirty Thous^{d}. Doll^{s}.' Mr. Gould replied that he would do his best to find a purchaser, adding, 'The ship is rather too large for any trade almost except the India. I do sincerely hope the ship may sell. There is nothing against it but her size.' And so there appeared in the *New York Daily Advertiser* the following notice:

FOR SALE OR CHARTER

The very fine ship Grand Turk Capt. Moseley just arrived from Russia, a stout staunch vessel, burthen about 700 tons, a little more than 3 years old, built under the particular inspection of the owner, is well found and fitted, and sails fast. For further particulars enquire of the captain on board at Murray's Wharf, or to

EDWARD GOULD.

Three weeks later, on March 12, 1795, Mr. Gould wrote to Mr. Derby that he had sold the Grand Turk for $22,000. Mr. Derby's papers do not give the name of the purchaser, and as the files of the New York Custom House covering this particular period have been lost, there re-

mains no record of the sale, nor copy of the register taken out by the new owner. And since the New York newspapers of this time contain no mention of a Grand Turk clearing from New York, it would appear that her new owner gave the ship another name. It is therefore impossible to follow her career further, and the story of the second Grand Turk must needs end here.

CHAPTER III

THE STORY OF THE THIRD *GRAND TURK* (1812–1816)

In 1793 England and France entered upon the series of wars in which all the important countries of Europe gradually became involved, and which continued until the battle of Waterloo. During this period the United States grew to be the principal neutral ship-owning nation; which circumstance so greatly increased her maritime prosperity that from 1793 to 1807 American vessels not only carried ninety per cent of the foreign trade of the United States, but a large portion of the commerce of the warring nations as well. Although there were large profits to be made by trading with the belligerents, there were also serious hazards connected with this business. England declared her right to seize ships of any flag bound to or from any port under French control, and France applied the same principle to all craft bound to or from her enemy's ports. Thus there was scarcely a place in Europe to which a neutral vessel could proceed without being subject to capture. American craft, more-

over, not only ran the risk of seizure by English and French men-of-war, but were harassed by England in other respects. These were the days of Nelson, when the British Navy was gradually making itself mistress of the seas, and England was hunting everywhere for sufficient sailors to man her growing naval fleets. She maintained that any one who spoke the English language was a British subject, unless he could prove that he was a native-born American. Acting on this principle, English naval officers were instructed to stop American ships wherever met and remove any British subjects on board. As seamen seldom were able to produce on the high seas documentary proof of their birthplaces, American citizens were often taken from their ships and made to serve involuntarily in the Royal Navy.

This arrogant policy on the part of England, and the frequent capture of American ships both by England and France, finally forced Congress to drastic measures. Not wishing to involve the United States in war, it tried to relieve the friction by passing the famous Embargo Act of 1807, which prohibited American ships from sailing for any foreign port. In his message to Congress

Jefferson said: 'If on leaving our harbors we are certainly to lose them, is it not better, as to vessels, cargoes, and seamen, to keep them at home?' But the outcome of this remarkable policy was to leave hundreds of ships rotting at the wharves; to throw thousands of seamen out of work, and to ruin the import and export trade. After a year and a half the Embargo Act became so unpopular that it was repealed and trade was resumed, with the result that American ships were often captured as before both by France and England, and American sailors were frequently impressed by the British men-of-war. So great, however, were the profits to be made in carrying on trade with the belligerent countries that the ship-owners much preferred losing an occasional vessel to having so lucrative a traffic stopped. But the majority in Congress felt that the capture of American ships and the impressment of American seamen by England were such flagrant infringements of our neutral rights that retaliatory action was necessary. Other disputes arose which strained the relations between the two countries still further, and the situation finally became so aggravated that in June, 1812, the United States declared war on England.

No country was ever less equipped to wage a war than the United States in 1812. She had scarcely a dozen frigates or armed ships of any kind with which to combat England's great navy, and no adequate military force. But again, as in the days of the Revolution, the American merchant marine came to the rescue. Many of the merchant ships which had been used for running the European blockades were fast sailers and were already armed for self-defense; so that it was a simple matter to transform them into privateers, and before long a good-sized fleet of these armed ships set out to comb the seas for British prey. While some of these privateers were owned by individual merchants, it was more often the custom to divide the ownership into shares among a number of individuals, and so distribute the risk in this hazardous business. Thus persons looking for a good speculation invested their savings in privateers, with the result that shares in many of these craft were widely held among the citizens of the seaport towns.

It was only natural that a busy port like Salem should be one of the chief centres of privateering activity, and many armed ships were sent out by her citizens. This fact led an enter-

prising ship-builder of Wiscasset, Maine, to insert the following advertisement in the *Salem Gazette* of September 8, 1812:

Privateer

To be sold at Wiscasset, if application is made immediately, a Vessel of about 300 tons, pierced for 18 guns exclusive of bridle and stern ports, every way calculated and proportioned for the present times, and such an one as can be safely recommended to those who may feel disposed to purchase. Said Vessel is built after the model of the fast sailing ship Volante, and by the same master workman. If not sold within 14 days, she will be sent to a southern port. For further particulars, and terms, apply to Brooks's Hotel, Wiscasset, Sept. 5, 1812.

On September 28th, the *Marine News* reported the arrival in Boston of 'a beautiful new brig pierced with 18 guns, from Wiscasset.' The advertisement in the *Salem Gazette*, followed by this announcement, attracted the attention of a group of Salem men interested in privateering, and soon after the brig appeared in Boston Harbor, they made a thorough inspection of her

and were so favorably impressed that they purchased her forthwith. Recalling the successful privateering career of the Grand Turk of Revolutionary days, the new owners decided to name their craft for that famous vessel, and thus the third Grand Turk entered upon the pages of history.

The new privateer was of about the same size as her namesake, being 309 tons register, 102 feet in length, 28 feet beam, and 12 feet, 4 inches, depth of hold. She was a full-rigged brig, and had 'a square stern, one deck, no galleries, and a billet figure-head.' Her owners, as shown by the register, were Joseph White, Jr., Jacob Endicott, Stephen White, Henry White, Jr., Samuel Cook, Joseph J. Knapp, Francis Boardman, Robert Brookhouse, Moses Townsend, J. W. Treadwell, James Dalrymple, William Luscombe, Jr., John Dodge, William Morrow, Hawks & Babbidge, Stephen W. Shepard, William Fettyplace, Nathan Blood, Joseph C. King, Samuel B. Graves, Isaac Needham, Oliver Hubbard, John St. Clair, Jr., Lynch Bott, John Howard, Jr., William Stearns, William P. Richardson, all of Salem; Thomas Williams, of Marblehead, and Peter Paul F. de Grand, of Boston.

PRIVATEER BRIG GRAND TURK

On November 5, 1812, the Grand Turk came around from Boston to Salem and began to fit out for her first privateering cruise; but it was more than three months before her eighteen guns had been procured and mounted, her stores loaded, and her crew signed on. The command of the ship was given to Captain Holton J. Breed, and the crew consisted of ninety-five men, all told. The articles of agreement between the owners and the crew[1] provided that 'the owners fit the vessel for sea and provide her with great guns, small arms, powder, shot, and all other war-like stores; suitable medicines and every other article necessary for such a voyage, for which the owners shall receive one-half the net proceeds of all prizes as shall be taken, and the other half shall be the property of the vessel's company, to be divided in proportion as set against their respective names.' The agreement, which consisted of sixteen articles, specified the rules and regulations governing the conduct of the crew, the penalty for infringement being the loss of prize-money. A bonus of twenty dollars was also offered to the man who first sighted a prize, and five shares of the crew's portion were

[1] These articles are given in full in Appendix E.

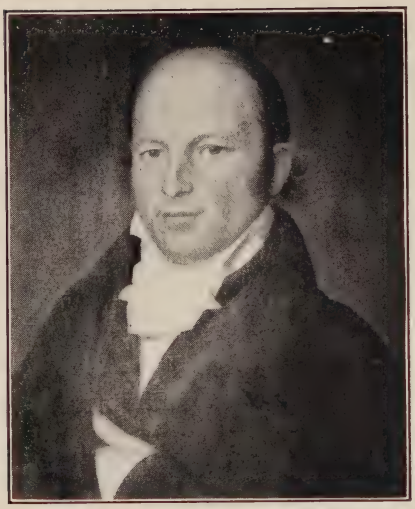
set aside to be divided by the commander among 'such as he may deem deserving among the vessel's company.' The following list shows not only the shares allotted to each man, but also the extraordinarily large number of men and variety of ratings and rankings required for a privateer only one hundred feet long:

	Commander	10 shares
	First Lieutenant	7½ "
	Second Lieutenant	6 "
	Sailing Master	6 "
	Surgeon	6 "
	Secretary	3½ "
	First Master Mate	3 "
	Second Master Mate	2½ "
	Third Master Mate	2 "
4	Prize Masters 3 shares each =	12 "
	Pilot	3 "
	Ship's Steward	2 "
	Steward's Mate	1¼ "
	Gunner	2½ "
	Gunner's Mate	1½ "
	Second Gunner	1¼ "
	Boatswain	2¼ "
2	Boswn's mates 1½ shares each	3 "
	Carpenter	2 "
	Second carpenter	2 "
	Armourer and Master at Arms	2 "
	Officer of Marines	2 "
	Linguist	2¼ "
	Cook	2 "

Cook's Mate	1½	shares
Cabin Cook	1½	"
Quarter Gunner	1¼	"
Wardroom Steward	¾	"
Sailmaker	1½	"
Cabin Steward	1¼	"
44 Seamen 1 share each	44	"
11 ordinary Seamen ¾ share each	8¼	"
4 Boys ¾ share each	3	"
2 Boys ½ share each	1	"
95 men in all	151½	shares

On January 28, 1813, a commission bearing the signature of President Madison was issued, authorizing the Grand Turk to cruise against the enemies of the United States, under the command of Captain Holton J. Breed. About two weeks later, on February 16th, the Grand Turk sailed from Salem on her first cruise, and at once laid a course for the south. No log of this voyage can be found, but from newspaper reports and court records it is possible to trace its principal events. Apparently nothing of note occurred until the 4th of April, when off the southern coast of Brazil, in latitude 26° S., longitude 40° W., a ship was sighted, bound for the River Plate. The Grand Turk gave immediate chase and rapidly overhauled the other vessel, which hoisted British colors at the peak, and with her

stern chasers opened fire on her pursuer. The Yankee privateer, however, having caught up with her adversary, luffed into the wind so as to bring her side-guns to bear, and delivered a broadside, which considerably cut up the English vessel's rigging. This manœuvre discouraged the British captain, and hauling down his flag, he backed his topsails, brought his vessel to, and gave himself up to his captors. A prize crew was then organized under William Pickering and sent on board the captured vessel. She proved to be the ship William of 208 tons, owned in Liverpool. She had left her home port on January 23d, with a cargo of coal and iron, topped off with dry-goods, wine, and hardware, and was *en route* to Buenos Aires. As she was a fine vessel and the cargo a valuable one, Captain Breed ordered his prize crew to proceed at once to Salem with the William. The two vessels now parted company, and the Grand Turk continued cruising under easy sail in search of further prey. A few days later she sighted what appeared to be a good-sized merchant vessel, and on giving chase, was surprised to observe the stranger hoist the Stars and Stripes. It proved to be the ship Talbot of Salem, homeward bound from



CAPTAIN HOLTON J. BREED

Sumatra with a cargo of pepper. She had left Salem over a year before, and no word of the declaration of war had reached her in all that time. As she was unarmed, the Grand Turk convoyed her along the Brazilian coast as far as Pernambuco, where the ships separated, each going her own way.

Two other vessels were seized by the Grand Turk on this cruise; but no particulars of these two prizes can be found, other than an item in the *Salem Gazette* indicating that the ship Apollo, bound from London to Buenos Aires, and a small schooner loaded with fish and oil were taken by the Grand Turk. A newspaper of later date reports that the Apollo was recaptured by the British and taken into Bermuda; but that the fishing schooner was brought safely into Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

On May 28, 1813, after a cruise of one hundred days, the Grand Turk arrived in Portland, Maine. She was chased in by two British frigates which had intercepted her entrance to Salem Harbor, forcing her to bear away for the Maine port. Leaving the privateer safely anchored at Portland, Captain Breed proceeded immediately by stage-coach to Salem, where he reported to his

owners the events of the cruise. None of his prizes had as yet put in an appearance; but the very next morning the William came into port. Captain Breed at once hurried to Boston, where the United States District Court was then sitting, and made his deposition before the Court, praying that the William and cargo be adjudged lawful prize and be sold for the benefit of the Grand Turk's owners and crew. The trial was held on June 22d, and after all necessary evidence had been taken from papers found on board the William and from sworn statements of her crew, the Court adjudged the William and her cargo to have been the property of British subjects, and thus lawful prize, and ordered ship and cargo sold at auction ten days later. The net proceeds of the sale were $18,804.80, of which half went to the owners of the Grand Turk and half to Captain Breed and his crew.

Meanwhile the British frigates had sailed away, and the Grand Turk, after a few days in Portland, had gone back to Salem, where she arrived on June 6th. When off Cape Ann that morning an amusing incident took place which has been recorded in *Felt's Annals of Salem*, as follows: 'Just before she entered harbor, she was

boarded by a person from Cape Ann who supposed her to be an English cruiser. Not being undeceived, he gave full information of our vessels expected and offered supplies of provisions. Captain Breed gave him a heavy dose of tartar emetic and jalop in a glass of grog to cure his disposition for treason.'

The Grand Turk appears to have remained in Salem Harbor during the next four months; for not until October 19, 1813, did she start on her second privateering cruise. This time she sailed right into the enemy's waters off the coast of Ireland. The log of this cruise has been preserved, and it gives so good a picture of life on board a privateer that, with the exception of the records of uneventful days, it is reprinted herewith:

1*st Day*) *Tuesday* 19*th Oct.* 1813.

The day commences with clear pleasant weather. Wind S.S.W. At meridian the Agents left us — stood down the coast under easy sail — heard the report of several heavy guns to windward — a considerable swell from the eastward — 3 p.m. exercised all hands at Quarters — At 6 Cape Ann Light bore S.W. — 1/2 past 7 Boon

Isld light bore N.N.W. distant about 4 leagues — 12 midnight Wood-Island Light bore N.W. dist. 10 miles. Latter part of night died away nearly calm. 8 a.m. a breese sprung up from the northward and eastward. Latter part fresh gales, cloudy with rain — At meridian Seguin-Light bore N.N.E. dist. 4 leagues.

N°. Ob^{s}.

2*d Day*.) *Wednesday* 20*th Oct*^{r}. 1813

Commenced with appearances of an Easterly storm — fresh gales & cloudy — took in royals — 2 p.m. in with top gallant sails, sent Down royal yards & housed the masts — 3 Discovered a small sail on the larbourd bow — proved to be a Sweedish Schooner bound in. 4 p.m. strong gales with heavy rain — took 2 reefs in fore & main topsails — 5 brailed up the trysail. 6 a squall suddenly struck us — let fly sheets & halyards and kept her before it. — Close-reefed fore & main topsails, stowed the jib, handed the foresail & set fore topmast stay sail — housed the Cannon fore & aft — sent down topgallant yards upon deck — Wind N.E. with heavy squalls & an ugly cross sea — Cor. E.S.E. — At daylight discovered a sail right ahead — in-

stantly hauled upon the wind to westward — 6 a.m. saw another sail on the lee quarter — set the trysail, jib, foresail & mainsail. At 8 tacked ship to the N.E. — 10 lost sight of all the sails to leeward — sent up topgt. yds. — & wore ship to the S.E. — 1/2 past 10 discovered a sail 1 point on the lee-bow — luffed up close upon the wind. At meridian tacked to the S.W. the sail bearing 2 points abaft the beam Dist. 3 or 4 leagues —

Latter part weather moderates & the sea going down.

Lat Ob^{s}. 43° 8′

3*d Day*) *Thursday* 21*st. Octr.* 1813

Fresh gales and cloudy. At 2 p.m. saw a sail to the northward standing upon the wind to the southward. 4 p.m. discovered a sail to the S.W. sent up royal yards & set the sails, let out all reefs, set fore topmast & lower studding sails — the sail astern still in chace & nearly in our wake. Hove three casks of water. At sundown both sails in sight from the tops in chase. At 7 p.m. jibed ship to the S.E.E. & shifted studding sails. During the night fresh gales & passing clouds — in with studding sails. At daylight nothing in sight — Latter part fresh gales continue & cold

cloudy weather — Cor. S.E. by S. — Distance per log 239 miles —

N°. Ob^{s}.

9*th Day.*) *Wednesday 27th October* 1813

Commences with gentle breeses and a smooth sea. At 4 p.m. piped all hands to Quarters and cleared for action — 10^{m} past 4 took in top-gallant sails, down jib, brailed up trysail & hauled up foresail & mainsail — 20^{m} past 4 ran down on the enemy's starboard quarter within good musket shot, gave him two broadsides with several vollies of musketry, then shot ahead, wore ship athwart his bows, gave him another broadside, laid him alongside & carried him by boarding — without loosing a man.

During the above *sham-engagement* the captains of the Guns displayed great precision in pointing their pieces and two shot penetrated the Target (an empty water-cask) In fact all hands manifested great activity and enterprise. At 5 secured and housed the cannon & wore ship — Wind E. by S. Cor. S. by E. cloudy & cold.

Lat. ob^{s}. 42° 56′

12*th Day*) *Saturday* 30*th October* 1813

Light breeses & pleasant. At 1 p.m. tacked ship to westward. At 3 tacked to the eastward in chace of a ship standing E. & S. At 4 tacked to westward — Piped all hands to Quarters and cleared for action. — At 1/2 past 4 the chace hove too & hoisted Russian colours. Sent the barge with an officer on board & examined her papers, log-book, letters, crew, passengers, etc., etc. Found her to be the Russian ship Moscow, Captain Seth Stoddert, 22 days out from Havana bound to St. Petersberg with a full cargo of Sugar, Logwood & Coffee. The Moscow was boarded on the 13th inst. by his Majesty's Brig Recruit & saw no other sail — Cap. S. reports few British vessels at Havana — none ready for sea & that it was very sickly. — At 1/2 past 7 permitted the Moscow to proceed & made sail to the E.S.E. — light airs & calms — Caught a large quantity of Cod —

13*th Day*) *Sunday* 31*st October* 1813

Saturday night — Fine pleasant moonlight evening — the officers & company amused themselves with music, Dancing, singing and drinking 'a good health to all sweethearts & wives' —

Lat. Ob^{s}. 45° 47′

22*d Day*) *Tuesday 9th November* 1813

First & middle part strong Gales with heavy squalls of wind, rain, hail & snow & a high cross sea. Wind W.N.W. —

At meridian concluded to heave too — Handed foresail & main topsail & hove too under balanced reefed trysail & mainstaysail heading up S.W. by S. & falling off to S.W. —

At 3 a.m. shipped a heavy sea astern which stove in the bows of the small boat. — Took her in on to the booms.

Latter part more moderate with light squalls of rain. —

Set main topmast staysail. At 1/2 past 10 a.m. took in main topmast staysail, set close-reefed fore & main topsail & fore topmast staysail. Shifted upon a wind to the S.W. At 11 a.m. took in the Trysail & bore away to the S.E. Wind West.

Ends with fresh gales & light squalls of rain, the sea going down.

Lat. Ob^{s} .49° 20′

Long. p^{r} Calculation — 11° 24′ W.

27*th Day*) *Sunday* 14*th November* 1813

At 2 p.m. thick gloomy weather with fresh breeses. At 5 took in main topmast staysail &

set main staysail. At 6 p.m. the wind hauled to the northward — wore ship to the westward & handed main topsail.

Middle part strong Gales and clear weather.

At 1/2 past 7 a.m. discovered a sail bearing N.E. — moderate breeses & hasy weather. — Let out reefs & made all necessary sail in chace — sent up topgallant yards. — At 9 a.m. made out the chace to be a Brig. standing to the eastward under easy sail. At 10 she hoisted English colours at her main-peake. — Piped all hands to Quarters and cleared for action. — 10 h. 40 m. tacked ship to westward to obtain the weather gage. At 11 a.m. the chace hove too. 1/4 past 11 sent the boat on board and found our Prise to be the English Brig Tryal, Cap. John Thompson, 45 days from Prince Edwards Island bound to Liverpool, 167 tons burthen, built at Maryport in 1779 (one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine) & rebuilt in 1806, navigated by 10 persons, with a cargo of 235 tons Pine Timber invoiced at £358.13.0 sterling.

Cap. Thomson on the 29th Octr. 1813, saw a sail standing S.E. — he reports several vessels ready to sail with cargoes of Lumber.

Brought the Prisoners on board the Turk &

stripped the Prise of all her sails, rigging, stores, cables, etc., etc. Then cut away her masts, scuttled her & left her a perfect wreck — Cap. Breed did not think it advisable to burn the Tryal judging ourselves in the mouth of St. Georges' Channel — or to man her out as vessel and cargo would not probably nett in America — $4000.

29*th Day*) *Tuesday* 16*th November* 1813

Prise No. 2

At 9 a.m. Antoine Derwas discovered a sail bearing N.E. by N. — Let out reefs & made sail in chace. — Fresh breeses from N.W. & N. & cloudy. — At 10 the chace bore E.N.E. & appeared to be a large Ship standing to the eastward. 1/2 past 10 the sail bore E. by S. — kept away E. by N. — coming up rapidly with the chace. At 11 a.m. piped all hands to Quarters & cleared for action; — slung the yards & main-gaff & got stoppers on the sheets. At meridian came up with the chace and ordered her to heave too till we sent our boat on board. Found our Prise to be the fine English ship called the Wolfes'-Cove, late Captain William Compleman, from Quebec bound to London, navigated by 20

men, mounting 2 small guns, with a Cargo of 38 bales of fine Furs, invoiced at £12,000 st'g. and 500 tons of oak & pine Timber, spars, staves etc. invoiced at £3000. st'g. — Wolfes'-Cove is a new vessel, built at Quebec, in 1812, copper fastened & well found in sails, spars, rigging, stores, etc., is 356 32/94 tons burthen — Cap. Compleman sailed under convoy of the Mutine & Moselle Gun-brigs in company with 26 English merchantmen — separated from the fleet on the second day out — 4th day out fell in with 14 sail of merchantmen — separated from the Convoy — next day one Brig only in company. Experienced a great deal of heavy weather during his passage & judges himself ahead of all the convoy. — Brought the Prisoners on board the Turk — Commissioned Cap. Robert Cloutman as Prise-Master with a crew of 18 men & ordered him for the first port in America. — (wrote a Letter to the Agents giving them a particular account of our Cruise up to the present date.) — At 6 p.m. dismissed the Prise & hove too under staysails & close-reefed maintopsail. — The weather continued so boisterous with a high sea running that it was considered impossible to take the Furrs out of the Prise on board the Turk; &

no prospect of better weather. Indeed it was difficult boarding the Prise at all.

This vessel and cargo may be fairly estimated at *$60,000.*

Ends with strong Gales & squally with rain & a high sea.

No Obs^{n}.

Lat. by an Alt.^{e} of the North star at 7 a.m. 49° 36′

Broached the 11th Cask of water.

The Commander ordered Richard Smith into Irons during the night for riotous & disorderly conduct & disobedience of officers.

Benjamin Stacey was convicted of wantonley & maliciously cutting a large hole in the fore-topsail.

34*th Day*) *Sunday 21st Nov.* 1813

Prise No. 3 –

At 7 a.m. discovered a Sail bearing S.S.E. distant about 3 leagues. — Moderate breeses and pleasant weather — Let out all reefs, sent up topgallant yards, wore ship to S.E. & made all sail in chace. 8 a.m. made out the chace to be a large ship standing to the eastward — At 10 the sail bore E. by S. set studding sails — At 11 a.m. the ship ahead hoisted English colours at

her misen-peake — 1/2 past 11 run down under the lee of the Enemy & ordered him to lower his Colours — which he did immediately. On boarding our Prise discovered her to be the English Ship General Kempt, Captain William Thompson, from Quebec bound to Liverpool, 381 27/94 tons register, copper-fastened, built at Quebec on the 14th August last, & sailed in October, completely found in sails, spars, rigging, stores, etc., with a full Cargo of Masts, spars, deal, Oak & pine — timber, staves, etc. The vessel & outfits are estimated as p^{r} Acc at—£7273.3.9 stg. Cargo invoiced at — £2604.11.3. Brought the Prisoners on board, 17 in number, leaving the Carpenter & his wife to return in the Ship. — Commissioned Cap. Jonathan Symonds as Prise-Master with a crew of 14 men, together with 3 Portugese prisoners from the Wolf's-Cove — Wrote a letter to the Agents and ordered the Prise for the first port in the United States. — At 3 p.m. (Monday) took leave of the Prise & made sail to N.N.E.

The General-Kempt sailed with the same fleet as the Wolf's-Cove & parted from the convoy on the 23d October last — has seen no sail since she left the Land. —

Vessel & cargo estimated (as p^{r} In & Est^{e}) at $40,000 —
Long 9°. W — Lat. Obs^{n} 50° 53′
43 prisoners on board —

Invalid-List —

Mr. Mullet Prise-Master Johnson Elliott
Thomas Hatfield Ben Sutton
Dennis Moore John Perkins
James Hill John Sweeten

35*th Day*) *Monday* 22*d Nov.* 1813

First part moderate winds & pleasant weather. At 3 p.m. sent the Prise-master with his crew & 600 lbs. Bread on board the Prise & took leave of her.

36*th Day: Tuesday* 23 *November* 1813

Moderate breeses & cloudy weather. At 4 p.m. Cape Clear bore N.E. by compass, distant 6 leagues.

Middle part fresh breeses & squally. At 8 a.m. let a reef out of foretopsail. At 10 pleasant — breese & clear weather — Piped up all bags & hammocks & cleaned out between decks. Got the spare-sails & canvass upon deck & dryed them also the colours. — Mustered all hands &

found we had 113 persons on board, besides Prisoners. At 6 p.m. the Boatswain, Carpenter & other forward officer came aft & informed Cap. Breed that they had overheard the prisoners (56 in number) planning a Mutiny, and swearing '*That this should be the last watch called on board the Brig.*' — Immediately the commander ordered them all into irons (except their officers), doubled the centries & armed the whole watch. — These prisoners have been constantly riotous & disorderly — The fact is, the better you treat an Englishman the worse he behaves —

— This is the first time these 22 days our deck has been dry.

Lat. Ob^{s}. 50°. 55′ —

49*th Day*) *Monday 6th December* 1813

One of the Boys among the Prisoners informed the officer of the Watch, that the Prisoners intended to seise the vessel to-night if circumstances favoured — Doubled the centries & armed the Watch —

51*st Day*) *Wednesday 8th December* 1813

At 40^{m} past 12 meridian saw a sail bearing N.E. by E. — wind E.N.E. — Piped all hands,

sent up topgallant yards & made all sail in chace. — Cleared the decks, chained the yards, & got everything ready for action at 1 p.m. & made out the chace to be a Brig standing close-hauled to the S.E. — 2 p.m. Beat all hands to Quarters. — 1/2 past 2 chace hoisted English Colours & hove too. — Hauled up our Courses, wore ship & run down under his lee. — On sending our boat on board found our Prise to be, the English Brig Juno, Cap. John Horsewill, from S^{t}. Johns (Newfoundland) bound to Dartmouth, 114 51/94 register tons, Danish built (captured by the British in 1807) with a full cargo of Oil, viz:

			Tons	*Hhd.*	*Gr.*	
313 Casks	— containing		89	1	21	— Cod Liver Oil
2 D^{o}	—	"	—	1	41	— Pale L. Oil
3 D^{o}	—	"	—	2	38	— Boil'd D^{o}
12 D^{o}	—	"	2	0	39	— Cod-B blubber D^{o}

23,461 Gallons — Invoiced at — £3098.15.11 stg. Besides a large quantity of Fish, sounds etc.

The Juno sailed on the 23d November last, with a fleet of 40 merchantmen, convoyed by the Belerophon 74, Rosamund sloop of War, & 2 schooners the Adonis & Growler (formerly a Privateer out of Salem) — Cap. Horsewill parted with the fleet & convoy on Thursday last

2[d] December last, who crowded sail and left him astern — He saw no sail out of the fleet during the passage. — Letters mention that the last fleet will sail on the 20[th] Dec. next from St. John's —

Brought the Prisoners and passengers on board (13 in number).

Commissioned Cap. Wm. P. Orne as Prise-master with special instructions for the first port in France, requesting him, his mate & crew to personate Cap. Horswill, mate & crew — gave him all the Brig's papers — & in *four* hours after we first discovered the sail, dispatched her completely in order, for the Coast of France.[1] —

Our small boat was overset & bilged under the Juno's counter by accident — no lives lost — lost the boat. This Prise & cargo will probably nett us in France $50,000. In America, perhaps it would have *sold for $25,000*

51*st Day*)

Commenced with moderate breeses & pleasant weather. Wind E.N.E. Cor. N.E. by N. —

Sent on board the Prise the following articles

[1] The *Essex Register* of March 12, 1814, reports that the Juno was carried safely into Roscoff, France.

—60 Gs. water — 1/2 Bbl. Beef — 1/2 D°. Pork — some coffee, sugar & chocolate — At 6 p.m. parted from the Prise & made sail to the E.N.E.

Middle part fresh breeses & squally appearances.

Latter part light winds & pleasant — 1/2 past 7 a.m. saw a sail on the lee quarter, bearing N.W. by N. — Set topgallant sails —

Hoisted all the small sails to Dry. — At meridian the wind hauled to the Northward. — Believe the sail we discovered this morning to be our Prise the Juno.

Ends with light airs and nearly calm — Cor. E.N.E.

Lat. Ob^{s}. 46°. 18

53 prisoners on board — Long. D R. 18°–00

52*d Day*) *Thursday 9th December* 1813

During these 24 hours moderate breeses, pleasant weather and a smooth sea. Wind S.W.

Continued in chace of the sail ahead, and at 6 p.m. spoke our Prise the Juno, who reported 'Alls Well.' —

At 10 p.m. took in topgallantsails & jib & took a single reef in the foretopsail —

John Perkins fell overboard — rounded too & took him on board.

Being a fine clear day, dried all our wet-sails— piped all hammocks & bags, cleaned out thoroughly between decks, & examined our Water — found we had 35 whole & 1 half Cask water, containing about 3,800 Ga — Also examined the Bread & judge we have about 4,000 lbs. — 158 persons on allowance.

At 9 a.m. Piped all hands to Quarters & stationed the men anew at the cannon etc.

Ends with fine weather. —

Wind S.E.
Cor. N.W. } Dis. 138 miles

Lat. Obs.^{n} 47°. 11′

59*th Day*) *Thursday December* 16*th* 1813

Begins with fresh gales and cloudy Rainy weather. At 3 took in the Foretopsail hard squalls from the Westward with rain Middle part Smart gales and Squalley with rain took in Maintopsail — at 3 more moderate Set the topsails — At 6 a.m. took the British Brig Graces from Lisbon with 120 tons Salt — took out the prisoners and man^{d} her out for the United States.

At 11 a.m. made sail in company with our Prise this day Ends with Smart gales from the N.W.

Latt. D.R. 45°32′

Course S. 8° W. dist. — 70 miles. Longe in 39°10′

60*th Day*) — *Friday December* 17*th* 1813.

Begins with fresh Gales and Squally with rain — at 2 p.m. Wore Ship at 3 Spoke Capt^{n}. Sage in our Prize Ordered him to keep Company with the Turk til morning.

M^{d}. part Squally with rain — Made and Shortened Sail Occasionally — At 7 a.m. hove to in Company with our Prize. Took our Prize master and his Crew out and made a Cartel of the Graces. put on board 65 prisoners — with Water and Provision — and Ordered her to Fayal under the command of Capt^{n} Bibbins the Former Capt^{n} — at 10 a.m. Parted with the Cartel — Latter part Squalley with rain & a rough sea — Winds N.W.

Course S 28 W dist. 73 miles — Latt. Obs 44° 25′ N; Long. in 40° 00′ W

65*th Day Wednesday* 22*d December* 1813

Commences with moderate breezes and Cloudy weather, Wind W.S.W. Unbent the Try Sail to

repair. at 4 P.M. Saw a Sail to West. Bent the Try Sail. Wore Ship & Made Sail in Chase. Got up top Gallant yards. at half past 5 Came up with our Chase. She proved to be the English Brig Minerva of Greenock 209 tons. From Pictou bound to Greenock with a full Cargo of Black Burch and Pine Timber. Navigated by 10 Men & officers — took out the Prisoners and Set her on Fire — a Gale of wind coming on Rappidly at S.E. Prevented us from gitting anything out of the Prize having only one small boat between the two Vessels — at 8 Left the Prize on fire. at 9 Close reeft the topsails. at 10 hard gales took in the topSails and hove to under the ForeSail. The Wind Variable from S.E. to West with rain — Got the top gallant yards down at 1 a.m. took in the Fore Sail hove to under the Main Stay Sail — got the Try Sail Gaft down. hard gales from the Southward with rain.

Latter part hard Gales with rain and a rough Sea —

Latt. D.R 42° 54′ N
Long in 42° 40′ W
Dist P^{r} Log. 78 Miles

84*th Day. Monday January* 10*th* 1814 — Begins with hard gales and Squalley weather attended with Snow — at 1 P.M. Saw a Sail to the S.W. Set the Fore top Sail Closereeft and gave chase — at 3 Let one reef out of Each top Sail — at 1/2 3 our Chase tack[d] to the Northward — at 5 we tack[d] to the North[d] — at 1/2 5 Split Both topSails — our Chase 4 Points on the Weathern Bow — appears to be a Privateer Schooner at 6 Lost Sight of our Chace took in Sail — Unbent the MaintopSail and Bent the Spare one

M[d] part hard Gales and Squalley hove to under a Main Stay Sail — at 8 a.m. Saw a Schooner on our Weather Beam — hard gales from N.E. with rain. Ends with heavy gales from N.N.E. and heavy Rain —

Latt[d] D R 40° 34′ N
Dist. Per Log 95 Long in 60° 04′ W.

85*th Day Tuesday January* 11*th* 1814

Begins with hard gales and rainey weather. Made and Shorten[d] Sail Occasionally — at 2 P.M. hard Squalls with rain the Wind Inclining to the North[d]. took in the Close reeft top Sails — and hove to under a Main Stay Sail at 4 a little

more moderate Set the Fore Stay Sail and Try Sail Ballance reeft —
M[d] part hard Squalls with rain and hail — at 7 a.m. Saw a Schooner ahead Supposed it to be the Same we Chaced yesterday — at 10 Saw a Schooner ahead Running befour the wind under Bare Poles — at Meridian She Bore South Set a reeft Fore Sail and gave Chace — This day Ends with hard gales and Squally the wind W.N.W. —

Latt[d] Obs[d] 40° 12

Dist. p[r] Log — 49 Miles. Long. in 60° 48′

86[th] *Day* *Wednesday January* 12[th] 1814
Begins with hard Gales from W.N.W. our Chace ahead about 5 Miles. at 2 P.M. Came up with our Chace. She Proved to be an English Schooner from Halifax bound to Bermuda with a Cargo of Live Stock. at 4 took out the Prisoners and man[d] her out for the United States.

Latt[d]. S R. 40° 00′ N
Long in 62° 12′ W

91[st] *Day* *Monday January* 17[th] 1814
Begins with very pleasant weather and fine breezes from the Eastward. All Sail Set. at 1 P.M. it began to Snow — took in all light

Sails — got the Royal yards down got the Royal mast on deck — Sent down top gallant yard and Housed top gallant mast — at 2 P.M. Close reeft the top Sails and hauld on a wind to the Northward — at 6 Wore Ship to the S.E. took in the top Sails and Set the Storm Stay Sails —

M^{d} part gales with Snow wore ship to the Northward. at 4 wore Ship to the S.E. Sounded in 20 fathoms of water at 5 in 15 fathom. at 6 the Same. at 8 a.m. Set the Fore Sail — at 9 Set the Main top Sail Close reeft — at 1/2 past 9 Saw Cape Cod bearing S.W. by W. at 11 Wore Ship to the Westward and set the Fore top Sail Close reeft — at Meridian the Race point bore South 3 miles distance —

This day Ends with Smart gales and Snowy weather.

92^{d} *Day — Tuesday January 18th* 1814

Commences with Smart gales attended with Snow the Race Point of Cape Cod bearing South 3 miles distance

at 4 P.M. took a Pilot for Cape Cod Harbour. at 5 Anchored in 4 fathoms of water Sandy Bottom —

M^d^ part moderate breezes from the Northward and East
at 9 a.m. the wind at North got under-way for Boston
at Meridian Plymouth Light Houses bore S.S.W. the wind at North Cloudey Cold Weather.

93^d^ *Day* *Wednesday January* 19*th* 1814
Begins with fine breezes from the North and Cold Cloudey weather. at 4 P.M. Boston Light bore North at 1/2 Past 4 anchored in Nantasket Road —
Middle part fresh breeze from N.N.W. with Snow.
Latter part fresh breezes from N.W. and Cold weather
Still at anchor in Nantasket Road —

94*th Day* *Thursday January* 20*th* 1814 —
Commences with fresh breezes from N.W. with Cold Cloudy weather at 1 P.M. got under way bound to Salem at 6 P.M. anchored in Salem Harbour after a Cruise of 94 days and Capturing 7 Prizes Man^d^ 4 Burnt 2 and made a Cartel of the 7th. . . .

CUSTOM HOUSE, SALEM
January 22nd, 1814.

I, Holten J. Breed Commander of the private armed Brig of War called the Grand Turk of Salem lately returned from a Cruise, do solemnly swear that the foregoing Journal contains Just and True account of All transactions on board said Brig during her late Cruise.

So Help me God.

Sworn before HOLTEN J. BREED
WM. R. LEE Comm.

So ended the Grand Turk's second cruise. One of the manned prizes, the Juno, arrived safely in Roscoff, France, but no record can be found of the other three which were despatched to the United States, though no doubt they all arrived safely and were sold for the benefit of their captors.

The Grand Turk remained in port less than a month after this successful cruise; and having refitted, she weighed anchor on February 17, 1814 and was off again on her third voyage. When only four days out, she suffered a serious accident. While under too much sail during a winter storm, her main topmast carried away, and this

in turn brought down the fore topgallant mast. Samuel Goodwin, the seaman who was on lookout in the foretop, fell off with the rigging and was drowned, and two men on deck were injured by falling spars. Although this disaster seriously crippled the vessel, she was not totally disabled, and her numerous crew were able to repair the damage sufficiently so that she could continue her cruise without having to return to port.

The Grand Turk now proceeded on her way across the Atlantic. No event of note occurred until March 19th, when in the neighborhood of the Azores she was chased all day by an English frigate of seventy-four guns, which she successfully eluded. Two weeks later she approached the Spanish coast, and took up a position about a hundred miles west of Cape Finisterre, where she cruised back and forth, keeping a sharp lookout for possible prizes. Before long the brig Indian Lass, bound from Liverpool to the Azores with a cargo of dry goods, crockery, and cheese hove in sight. A gun from the Grand Turk stopped her, and she promptly surrendered. Captain Breed took some of the dry goods out of her cargo, put a prize crew on board, and ordered

her to the nearest United States port. The Grand Turk now remained for several weeks in the same neighborhood, and during that time she captured the brigs Catherine and Thomas & Betsey, from Lisbon for London; the brig Thetis from Patras and Malta for London, and the sloop Caroline from London for the Azores. The first three vessels, which had valuable cargoes, were despatched to America under prize crews. The Caroline, however, was only a small craft with little on board, and as the Grand Turk was overcrowded with the captured British crews, Captain Breed transferred all his prisoners to the Caroline and let her go. The Grand Turk then began cruising under easy sail in the direction of the Azores, and on April 28th Captain Breed sighted a brig which had a familiar look. He immediately gave chase, and soon brought her to a stop. She proved to be none other than the Catherine, which the Grand Turk had captured over two weeks earlier and had ordered to the United States. It turned out that the Catherine had been retaken by His Majesty's brig Bacchus, and was en route to England under a British crew when the Grand Turk once more overtook her. This time, to make sure that the

British would not seize her again, Captain Breed first completely stripped the brig, and then set her on fire.

A few days later, on May 2d, the Grand Turk fell in with the Royal West India mail-packet Hinchinbroke, homeward bound from the West Indies to England, and soon found herself involved in the most serious battle of her entire career. The Grand Turk's log thus reports the ensuing engagement:

May 2, lat. 50.30, long. 23, at 1 P.M., fresh breezes and squally; discovered from the main-topgallant yard a strange sail bearing W.; made sail in chase; at half past 1, made the chase to be a brig standing to the North upon the wind; at 3 coming up with the chase very fast, when she made signals; at 4 all hands to quarters, a fresh gale and rough sea; hoisted English colors, the chase being about 2 miles distant, and showing no colors, but we could observe that their hammocks were stowed in the netts. At 5, being within musket-shot on the chase's weather quarter, hauled down English and hoisted American colors, when the brig hoisted an English ensign and pennant and fired a shot at

us; gave her a broadside which was immediately returned. We continued engaging within half musket-shot until half past 6, when all our braces, bowlines, mainstay, both foretopmast stays, jib and topgallant stays, backstays and part of the foretopmast rigging were cut away; sails completely riddled, having at least six hundred shot-holes through them; and foretop-sail and main-yards partly crippled, which rendered us unmanageable; commenced repairing damages. At 7, having got our masts secured and braces rove, and at half past 7, preventer stays and braces up, gave chase to the enemy, who was attempting to escape. At 10 P.M. a heavy sea and fresh squalls and thick, squally weather. Close-reefed our topsails, whilst doing which the Enemy, we suppose, bore up and we lost sight of him. He was very much cut up in his hull, and had from 15 to 20 shot-holes below his bends; whereas we had no shot in our hull except a few grape, the enemy directing his fire at our spars and rigging. In this action we lost two killed, Daniel Fry and Thomas Hatfield. The Captains of the Tops, stationed there in time of action, reported that the Enemy had as many men on his deck as the Grand Turk, and

THE ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE PRIVATEER GRAND TURK AND THE BRITISH MAIL-PACKET HINCHINBROKE, MAY 1, 1814

mounted ten 24-pound Carronades and two long brass 9-pound Cannon.

So much for the American version of the affair. In Norway's *History of the Post Office Packet Service*, published in London in 1895, there appears the following account of the engagement, based on the report of Captain James of the Hinchinbroke:

'On May 1st, 1814, the Hinchinbroke, British mail packet, was on her homeward passage from St. Thomas, W.I., and had reached the neighborhood of the Azores — a favorite cruising ground for the American privateers — when the look-out at the masthead reported a suspicious-looking vessel to the eastward. The strange sail drew rapidly nearer. At half past four she hoisted American colors and was drawing on fast. She fired no gun, nor was any hail heard, and Captain James of the Hinchinbroke bade his men reserve their fire for closer quarters and the two ships neared each other in grim silence for the best part of an hour. At twenty minutes past five they lay within pistol-shot distance, and, as if at a preconcerted signal, the two broadsides roared out in the same moment.

'On this followed a tremendous cannonade. The American vessel carried sixteen — pounder guns, to the Hinchinbroke's eight nine-pound cannonades, and at the short range great execution was done on the packet's hull and rigging. This lasted for an hour, by which time the packet had suffered so much that Captain James was scarcely able, if he had wished it, to avoid the boarding attack which he plainly saw was in preparation on board the American. The assault was quickly upon them with all the impetuosity which the Americans evinced in these attacks, but the nettings were so high and the small band of picked men of the packet fought so bravely that the boarders were repulsed with a loss to the mail packet of only one man killed and three wounded.

'Relieved for the moment from the apprehension of boarders, Captain James turned his attention to the state of his vessel which by this time had received serious injury. The privateer had drawn off to a short distance and was sending her heavy shot crashing into the side of the Hinchinbroke. Already several had passed between wind and water, and she was making water fast and in danger of sinking. What was

worse, the water had already entered the magazine and was spoiling the powder. There was no time to be lost, and a small party was detailed from deck to remove the powder to the after-cabin.

'Just at this time the privateer cast her boarders a second time with more fury than before, covering the attack with a great fire of small arms from her tops. Although the force on the packet had been considerably reduced the nettings served their purpose and the second assault was beaten off. Then came Captain James' chance. Throughout the action the privateer had chosen her position, as she was a much faster vessel than the packet. As the vessels separated, on the failure of the boarders, the privateer shot ahead, and Captain James at once luffed under his opponent's stern and raked her in succession with each of his three larboard guns, loaded with a treble charge. What execution he did by his manœuvre he could not judge, but it was effective in that it shook off the enemy's hold, and very shortly the privateer hauled to the northward and abandoned the attack.

'Thus ended a brave and well-fought action that lasted for nearly three hours and which

was highly creditable to the mail packet which carried a much smaller number of men and also less metal.'

Besides these two opposing accounts of the engagement, there remains an additional record in the form of an engraving, published in 1819 in London for Commander James of the Hinchinbroke. This engraving, a copy of which is shown herewith, bears the following inscription:

'This plate, representing the situation of H. M. Packet Hinchinbroke at the close of an engagement with the American Privateer Grand Turk, of Salem, in May, 1814, is very respectfully dedicated,' etc. . . . 'The action commenced at 5 h. 20 m. P.M., and continued until 7 h. 30 m., within pistol-shot, during which the Enemy twice laid the Packet aboard, but was beaten off; after the failure of the second attempt the Hinchinbroke obtained a raking position, disabled the Privateer and obliged her to sheer off.'

The Grand Turk by now had been at sea for ten weeks, and as she was pretty well battered by the encounter with the Hinchinbroke, Cap-

tain Breed decided it was time to head for home. On June 5, 1814, after a cruise of 108 days, the Grand Turk arrived at Portland, Maine, with property on board, taken out of various prizes, to the value of $65,000. She remained here only a few days, and then proceeded to Salem, where in the course of the next two months she was given a general overhauling, necessitated by the damages sustained in her recent engagement. Upon the termination of this voyage, Captain Breed for some reason gave up the command of the Grand Turk. Possibly the owners did not approve his zeal in attacking so strong an adversary as the Hinchinbroke, for the encounter might well have ended the privateer's career; but it is more probable that Captain Breed felt, after three very prosperous voyages, that he could afford to remain ashore.

On July 14, 1814, a commission was issued to Captain Nathan Green as commander of the Grand Turk, and on August 6th he took her out of Salem on her fourth cruise.[1] Once again the privateer headed across the Atlantic toward the western coast of Europe, where she had operated so successfully on her last two voyages. When

[1] A track chart of this cruise is given in the rear end-paper.

only four days at sea Captain Green fell in with the little British fishing schooner Pink, which he set on fire after removing crew and cargo. The next day the Grand Turk met the British brig Brothers en route from New Brunswick to England with lumber and staves, and Captain Green disposed of this vessel in the same manner as the Pink, instead of sending her home to Salem, because he wished to save his prize crews for the more valuable craft he hoped to take in European waters.

On August 16th, in the vicinity of the Newfoundland Banks, the Grand Turk captured the British brig Charlotte. This vessel, while bound from Antigua to Glasgow with a cargo of sugar, rum, and molasses, had previously been taken by the American privateer Monmouth, and ordered to a United States port. Hardly had the Charlotte left her captor when she was retaken by the British frigate Canso, which removed the American prize crew and substituted a British one. The Charlotte then resumed her interrupted passage to Glasgow, and was halfway home when she was seized by the Grand Turk. The second British crew were now made prisoners, and a detachment from the Grand Turk

put on board, with orders to take the brig to Salem. But strange to say, while on her way to Salem, she was captured a fourth time, and was carried by a British frigate into Halifax. Such were the perils of the seas in privateering days!

The Grand Turk now continued on her way across the Atlantic, and early in September took up her station about a hundred miles west of the Scilly Isles, where she could intercept vessels bound into the English Channel or the Irish Sea. Here she cruised back and forth for a week, during which time she overhauled and boarded seven vessels, four of which were Dutch and three French. These were permitted to go their way after Captain Green had satisfied himself that they carried no British cargo. But on September 5th, he stopped the Swedish brig Johannes, which he found had on board 935 sacks of bread, 14,037 gallons of rum, and a number of other articles, all consigned to the British Army storekeeper at Plymouth. As the Swedish brig's cargo was British Government property, Captain Green assumed that he had the right to seize her, and he promptly put a prize crew on board and despatched her for the United States.

Two days later, when only twenty miles off the coast of Cornwall, the Grand Turk had a narrow escape, which is thus recorded in her log:

'At 7 saw 2 other sail in the W.S.W. Made sail in chase. At 1/2 past 8, discovered one a ship, the other a galliot. Made for the former. At 1/2 p. 9 up with the ship. She hoisted English colors with G. R. in the center, and was marked on the Bow & Quarter No 311. We then hoisted American colors, bore up and gave her our starboard broadside. She then hauled up her Mainsail (slowly) & backed her Main-Topsail, at the same time Lowered her Ensign, keeping a small yellow Flag at the Main. Not feeling satisfied at Her appearance wore ship, passed into her wake, gave her 2 Broadsides and the 2nd division of the Third in a Raking position. She then wore and in the act of waring hoisted his ensign & gave us a Broadside & made all sail in chase of us, when we discovered her to be a Heavy Sloop of War in disguise, she having her gun deck ports shut & shewing a Tier of ports on painted canvas above her Channels. At 11 we made sail upon the wind & soon found we left her fast. We have every reason to think while having the Raking fire that

our shot must have done great execution. Our Topmen plainly saw that she had Drags out while we were engaging her. In 4 hours the Chaser was Hull down from our decks.'

This encounter convinced Captain Green that his cruising-ground was a little too close to the enemy's home waters; so he laid a southerly course toward Spain, and for the next month stood back and forth, along the Portuguese coast and across the Bay of Biscay, in the path of ships running between England and the Mediterranean. From the middle of September to the middle of October he stopped and boarded in these waters no less than eighteen vessels. Many of them were neutrals, Dutch or Russian craft, bound from the Mediterranean to their home ports, and these Captain Green permitted to go their way. Several rich British prizes, however, were captured by the Grand Turk during this time: the brig Betsy from Trieste for Hamburg with a cargo of currants, sweet oil, licorice, raisins, orange-peels, and 'sundries in the manifest which could not be decyphered'; the brig Baltic from Gallipoli for Bristol with two hundred and eight casks of oil; the brig Cossack from Alicante for Newfoundland with raisins, brandy, and wine; the

brig Three Williams from Newfoundland for Lisbon with fish, and the brig Melziade from Malta for London with raisins and gum tragacanth. All of these craft, except the Melziade, were manned, and ordered to America. As the latter was old and not worth sending home, Captain Green put his prisoners on board and released her.

The Grand Turk had now been at sea about ten weeks, and was running short of stores; so Captain Green started back across the Atlantic toward Salem. While off the Newfoundland Banks he fell in with the sugar-laden British schooner Georgiana, from Martinique for Saint John's, and sent her into Salem. The next day he captured the British brig Robert, from Prince Edward's Island for London with a cargo of lumber, and after taking off the crew set her on fire. Off Sable Island, the schooner Bird, from Newfoundland for Jamaica with fish and lumber, was taken and she too was ordered into Salem. The next day Captain Green captured the last prize of the cruise, the British schooner Commerce, from Liverpool, Nova Scotia, for Barbados; but by this time the Grand Turk's crew had become so depleted by the number of prizes already manned that no more men could be spared to bring the

Commerce into port, and so the schooner was set on fire.

On November 17, 1814, the Grand Turk anchored in the harbor of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, after a cruise of one hundred and three days. During this time she had stopped and boarded thirty-six vessels.[1] Eight of these were despatched under prize crews to America; four were burned; twenty-three, neutrals with no British cargo on board, were allowed to proceed, and one was released with prisoners. Upon arrival at Portsmouth, the Grand Turk had on board fifty prisoners, but only forty-four of her original crew of one hundred and twenty men, the others having been placed on her prizes.

The Grand Turk captured more vessels on this cruise than on any other, but although most of these prizes probably reached America, the records of only three can be found. Documents in the Federal Court in Boston show that the schooners Georgiana and Bird, the last two vessels sent in, both reached Boston, and were later sold. The Georgiana and cargo netted $16,089, and the Bird, $3874. The brig Cossack arrived

[1] For complete list of vessels boarded on this cruise see Appendix D.

safely in Salem; but she cannot be credited to the Grand Turk. On her way to America under a prize crew from the Grand Turk, she fell into the hands of His Majesty's frigate Bulwark of seventy-four guns, which ordered her into Halifax. Before she reached that port, however, the Salem privateer Surprise retook her and brought her home. When Captain Green returned from his cruise he was delighted to find the Cossack safely anchored in Salem Harbor; but his joy was turned to chagrin when he learned that his former prize was now the property of a rival privateer.

For about a month the Grand Turk remained in port refitting, and on January 1, 1815, she sailed from Salem on her fifth cruise, under command of Captain Green. It being midwinter, she laid her course this time for more congenial southern waters, and six weeks later was cruising off the coast of Brazil. On February 19th, in the neighborhood of Pernambuco, she stopped and boarded a brig flying the Spanish flag, which had left Pernambuco only a few hours before. The boarding party from the Grand Turk found her to be the Joven Francisco with a cargo of tea, coffee, rice, dye-woods, and rattans — evidently products of India. There were two Englishmen

on board as passengers, and the ship's papers indicated the vessel's destination as Portsmouth, England. All this aroused Captain Green's suspicions. After questioning some of the crew, he was convinced that the cargo was English; that the vessel in reality was bound from India to England, and that her stop at Pernambuco and her Spanish flag were merely ruses to give the protection of a neutral bottom to the English cargo. He, therefore, put a prize crew on board, and ordered the Joven Francisco to Salem. Unfortunately, she never reached the United States; as she was recaptured by a British vessel and taken into Barbados.

The Grand Turk continued to stand off and on near Pernambuco, and two days later she captured the British ship Active Jane of Liverpool. This vessel had brought a cargo from England to Rio Janeiro, where she had discharged, and when stopped by the Grand Turk was proceeding empty from Rio up the coast to Maranham. As she had no cargo on board, Captain Green decided it was not worth while to send her to America, and so gave orders to burn her. While looking about for anything worth saving on board the Active Jane, the Grand Turk's men noticed a few

kegs marked 'Nails 1½".' In the process of transferring these kegs to the Grand Turk, one of them broke open and to the astonishment of the privateersmen a shower of coins rolled out on the deck. The English captain then told Captain Green that the fourteen kegs each contained a thousand milreis, and were the proceeds of his outward cargo at Rio Janeiro. This was indeed a windfall for the Grand Turk, as the fourteen thousand milreis were worth about seventeen thousand dollars at the going rate of exchange. Nothing more of value being found on the Active Jane, her crew were transferred as prisoners to the Yankee privateer, and the English vessel was dismantled and burned.

The Grand Turk now cruised along the Brazilian coast; but found no more victims. About two weeks later, however, she came dangerously near capture herself. The story is best told in the words of her log:

March 10, lat. 22.28S, lon 39, at daylight descried a sail in the eastern quarter. Made sail in chase. At 7 A.M. being 3/4 ths of a mile to windward discovered the chase to be a frigate endeavoring to decoy us. Tacked ship and the enemy

immediately tacked and made all sail in pursuit of us. Soon perceived we had the advantage in sailing; displayed the American flag, and gave her a shot to windward in defiance. At 11 the wind hauled suddenly to the westward. Tacked ship, the frigate receiving a favorable breeze was enabled to lay across, and nearing us fast. At 11.30, the frigate within gun shot, got out sweeps and made considerable progress, although calm and a short hard sea. The frigate commenced firing, got out her boats and attempted to tack four different times, but did not succeed. Hoisted our colours, and gave her a number of shot. Ship to leeward & frigate also. At noon swept our brig round with her head to the northward, and having the sea more favorable, left the chase considerably. Ends with extreme sultry weather, all hands at the sweeps, both ships in pursuit of us.

March 11, calm. Ships to leeward, favored with light air. Still at our sweeps. At 6 P.M. ships bore S. by W., 5 miles distance. At the same time we took a gentle breeze from the N.E. In sweeps and set all sail. At 9 A.M. saw one of the enemy's ships in the S. by W. Soon saw the second. At noon lost sight of them.

Mar. 12. At 1.30 P.M. discovered the two

frigates still in pursuit of us and much favored by the breeze. At 9.30 sprung our foretopmast. At 11 got the topmast secured and made all sail. The enemy tacked to the southward and eastward and appeared to have given up the chase, as they disappeared shortly after.

About a week after this adventure, the Grand Turk sighted a brig southward bound. Captain Green immediately put about in pursuit, and rapidly overhauled the vessel, which appeared to be a well-armed merchantman. As the ships came within range, the stranger hoisted English colors and opened fire on the Grand Turk with her stern-chasers. The privateer replied with an occasional shot from her bow guns. This continued for about an hour, until the Grand Turk had nearly overhauled the Britisher, when the latter luffed up into the wind and delivered a broadside at her pursuer. The Grand Turk likewise immediately hove to, and responded with a broadside. The engagement continued about five minutes, when the British vessel, seeing the futility of combating so superior an adversary, hauled down her flag and surrendered. A boarding party was then sent over from the Grand Turk to the brig,

which proved to be the Acorn of Liverpool, bound from that port to Rio Janeiro with a valuable cargo of coal, crockery-ware, porter, and dry-goods. She was well armed for her own defense with twelve guns and had a crew of sixteen men, but she was hardly a match for the Grand Turk. Listed in the brig's manifest were many cases of cotton stuffs, calicoes, woolens, silk hose, fine hats, dressed leather, pantaloon hosiery, and such goods. These valuable items Captain Green determined to transfer to the Grand Turk's hold for greater safety. Although it was rapidly growing dark, he set to work at once, resolved to lose no time in securing the booty, and the Grand Turk's and the Acorn's longboats were kept busy all night plying back and forth, transferring cargo. But with the coming of dawn, the lookout at the Grand Turk's masthead sighted two sails in the distance which looked suspiciously like the British frigates the Grand Turk had eluded the week before. Captain Green immediately stopped the transfer of cargo, and hastily sent a prize crew on board the Acorn, with instructions to make all speed away from the locality and proceed to Salem. The log states: 'As our prize was in a good plight for sailing, we have great reason to

think she escaped. One of the frigates pursued us for 3/4 of an hour, but being convinced of our superior sailing gave over the pursuit.'

On looking over the papers taken from the Acorn's despatch-box, Captain Green found a letter written by her owners in Liverpool on January 2, 1815, stating that peace between England and the United States had been signed at Ghent on Christmas Eve, and had later been ratified by the Prince Regent. The letter indicated, however, that hostilities would not cease until the peace was also ratified by the American Government. According to this information, the Grand Turk had sailed from Salem a week after the peace treaty had been signed at Ghent, and there was every reason to suppose that by this time it had been ratified by Congress, and that the war was over. Captain Green therefore thought it best to abandon the cruise and he accordingly put the Grand Turk on a course for home. When well on her way, she fell in with the American schooner Comet from Alexandria, Virginia, for Barbados; 'by which vessel,' says the log, 'we received the very pleasing intelligence of peace between the United States and Great Britain.'

On April 28th there appeared in the *Salem*

Register the following item: 'Arrived and saluted the town the elegant private-armed brig Grand Turk, Nathan Green, Jr., Commander, from a cruise of four months (her fifth cruise) off the coast of Brazil, &c. She has made three captures, two manned and one destroyed, and has brought in 180 packages of valuable dry goods and 17,500 dollars in specie taken from prizes.'

Upon his return, Captain Green found the Acorn already safely anchored in Salem Harbor. He lost no time in making his depositions before the court and having the vessel condemned. The sale of the Acorn and her cargo netted $56,000, and the kegs from the Active Jane containing the 14,000 milreis brought about $17,000 more; so that there was a total of $73,000 to be distributed, one half among the owners, and the other half, less the running expenses, proportionately among the one hundred officers and men. An interesting sidelight on the division of these profits among the crew is given in the autobiography of Captain Nathaniel Griffin of Salem, who, when a young man, sailed as a seaman on this voyage of the Grand Turk. He writes: 'Arrived home April 27th, 1815, having been absent nearly four months, having on board goods and specie which

divided $214 per share. This gave me $107, as I sold one-half of a share before sailing for $50, which was $157 for four months' service. This fitted me out for a voyage to India.'

With this cruise the Grand Turk's career as a privateer ended. She was unquestionably one of the most successful private armed ships in the War of 1812. In her five voyages she captured no less than thirty British vessels; and the sale of those which eventually reached America must have repaid her owners many times her original cost. Her depredations on British commerce, together with those of the other American privateers, helped materially in bringing England to terms.

Now that the war was over the Grand Turk's owners decided to dissolve their partnership, which had been formed for the sole purpose of operating a privateer, and to dispose of their vessel. On May 19, 1815, the following advertisement appeared in the *Salem Gazette:*

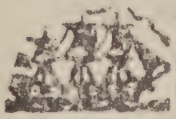
BRIG GRAND TURK

On Tuesday the 30th inst at 11 o'clock A.M. will be sold at Public Auction (to close the concern) at India Wharf in Salem.

sail, nearly new. 1 Azimuth Compass.

BRIG GRAND TURK.

On Tuesday the 30th inst. at 11 o'clock, A. M. will be sold at Public Auction (to close the concern) at India-Wharf, in Salem,



The elegant, fast sailing, coppered bottom Brig GRAND TURK, burthen 310 tons, 2 1-2 years old, built by an approved workman of excellent materials, and completely found for an India voyage. She has performed five cruises during the late war, and is considered one of the best vessels of her class in the U. States. Immediately after the above, will be sold the Armament of the Grand Turk, consisting of 15 long 9 pound Cannon, with apparatus complete—37 Muskets—20 pair Pistols—50 Cutlasses—30 Boarding Pikes—1600 pounds Powder—several sails, partly worn—together with a number of small articles. Inventory may be seen by applying to *Samuel Cook* or *William Fettyplace*, Salem, or to *P. P. F. Degrand*, Esq. of Boston.

T. DELAND, Auct.

Salem, May 17.

☞The Editors of the Boston Patriot, Chronicle, Palladium and Gazette, are requested to copy this advertisement.

TO BE LET,

THE SHOP now occupied by Mr. NEHEMIAH ADAMS.

Apply to JOSEPH WHITE, jun.

ADVERTISEMENT OF SALE OF THE THIRD GRAND TURK IN THE SALEM GAZETTE OF MAY 19, 1815

The elegant, fast sailing, copper bottom brig GRAND TURK, 310 tons, 2½ years old, built by an approved workman, of excellent materials, and completely found for an India voyage. She has performed five cruises during the late war, and is considered one of the best vessels of her class in the U. States.

Immediately after the above, will be sold the armament of the Grand Turk, consisting of 15 long 9 pound cannon, with Apparatus complete — 37 muskets — 20 pair Pistols — 50 cutlasses — 30 Boarding Pikes — 1600 pounds Powder — several sails, partly worn — together with a number of small articles. Inventory may be seen by applying to Samuel Cook or William Fettyplace, Salem, or to P. P. F. Degrand, Esq. of Boston.

T. DELAND, *Auct.*

The sale was held as advertised, and the Grand Turk was bid in for $8000 by the Honorable William Gray of Boston. The purchaser was one of the leading American ship-owners of the day. The first part of his life had been spent in Salem, where he built up so extensive a commerce that at one time he owned a quarter of all the

vessels registered at that port. But owing to acute political differences with some of his fellow citizens in Salem, he had moved to Boston in 1809, where he lived thereafter and carried on his business. Unfortunately, all of Mr. Gray's papers were destroyed by fire many years ago, so that the only clues to the career of the Grand Turk under his ownership are custom-house records and newspaper clippings.

On June 5th, a few days after her sale, the brig was brought around to Boston, and was registered at the custom-house in the name of William Gray as sole owner and William Austin as master. The Grand Turk is next reported as clearing on June 29th from Boston for Marseilles with a general cargo. The duration of her passage is not known; but that she arrived safely is apparent from the two paintings by Anton Roux, the famous French marine artist, one showing the Grand Turk as she entered the harbor of Marseilles in 1815, and the other as she lay at anchor in that port.

There is no further record of the Grand Turk until she is reported in the newspapers of November 17, 1815, as arriving at Boston, forty-four days from Marseilles, with 'an assorted

The Letter of Marque Grand Turk of 14 Guns William Austin Commander at Marseilles Harbour 1815

cargo for Hon. William Gray.' About a month later she cleared again, this time for Havana, from which voyage she never returned. On March 26, 1816, her register at the Boston Custom-House was cancelled, with the endorsement, 'Sold to a Spaniard in Havanna, 27 January, 1816.'

Thus the famous privateer brig Grand Turk passes into oblivion. She may have sailed the seas for many years after under a Spanish name, winning new fortunes for some Havana merchant; but as the Grand Turk she ceased to exist, and her subsequent career remains a mystery.

CHAPTER IV

THE STORY OF THE FOURTH *GRAND TURK* (1916–1924)

It was exactly one hundred years before another Grand Turk appeared upon the seas. During the first half of this period the foreign trade established by Elias Hasket Derby and other pioneer American merchants steadily increased, and American ships were seen in all ports of the world. The peak of this maritime development came with the famous Yankee clipper ships which, during the eighteen-fifties, startled the world by their record passages. The Civil War, however, brought an end to this progress. Many of the splendid clippers fell prey to the Confederate commerce destroyers and others were sold to foreign flags; so that by the end of the war there was left only a shattered remnant of America's former great fleet of sailing vessels. In the meantime, the iron steamer had made its appearance, and rapidly began to wrest trade after trade from the sailing ships. Foreigners were able to build and operate iron steamers so cheaply that American ship-owners and merchants gradually gave up

the unequal competition, and turned their attention to more lucrative employment on shore. The West was then just opening up, and there were greater opportunities to be found in the development of the resources of the country than in the operation of American ships in the foreign trade. Merchants and ship-owners became railroad-builders or land-owners; sailors turned miners or farmers, while Horace Greeley's famous advice, 'Young man, go West!' voiced the changing spirit of the times.

After 1860, the number of American vessels on the high seas began to diminish, and the cargoes formerly carried by the clipper ships of Boston or Bath were taken by the iron tramp steamers of Glasgow or Copenhagen. In 1860 there were 2,600,000 tons of American ships engaged in foreign commerce; but fifty years later, in 1910, this tonnage had shrunk to 700,000. Nevertheless, although American ships had become a curiosity in foreign ports, the United States had in 1910 the third largest merchant marine in the world. This resulted entirely from the law passed by Congress in 1817, and still in effect, which prohibits foreign ships from engaging in trade between American ports. Thus protected from for-

eign competition, American coastwise and Great Lakes shipping has always enjoyed a steady growth.

In 1914 the World War broke out, and a situation was suddenly created similar to that which existed during the Napoleonic wars. With Germany's merchant ships interned either abroad or at home, and with the British and French merchant fleets largely withdrawn from use by their respective governments, there immediately arose a shortage of ships for the world's commerce. Germany's submarine campaign still further reduced the number of available bottoms, and as a result freights rose rapidly, and neutral ships reaped an enormous benefit, as in the days of the earlier Grand Turks. By 1915 the world shortage of ships had caused freights to increase to such an extent that even expensively operated American coastwise ships could come out from behind their wall of protection and make a profit in the foreign trade. Soon a steamer which had always plied between New York and New Orleans arrived at Rotterdam, the first American ship to be seen in that busy world port in forty years. Other steamers that ordinarily carried coal between Norfolk and Boston appeared in such

distant ports as Buenos Aires or Archangel. The absence of these vessels from their accustomed runs created a shortage of tonnage there, which in turn caused coastwise freights to rise, and schooners and small craft of all descriptions were pressed into service to fill up the gap. The result was that the high freights extended to every trade, and ships which long since had been considered useless were patched up and sent to sea to enjoy the benefit of this unprecedented boom.

During the era of the clipper ships more wooden vessels were built in the United States than in any other country in the world, and even after foreign iron steamers began to take the overseas commerce away from the square-riggers, the shipyards of New England continued to build large wooden schooners for the coastwise trade. But as time went on, even in the coasting service, steel steamers gradually superseded the schooners, so that by 1914 the wooden ship-building industry had very nearly died out. Presently, however, the shortage of tonnage, which made itself felt after the World War began, stimulated ship-building in all parts of the world. In the United States, not only did the steel ship-

yards increase their output many fold, but old-time wooden yards, with ways mossgrown from disuse, awoke into new activity, and ship carpenters who had not swung an adze for thirty years, began again to hew out knees and timbers.

It was under such circumstances that the fourth Grand Turk came to be built. In the little town of Millbridge, on the eastern coast of Maine, the Sawyer family had for many years operated a small shipyard, from which at frequent intervals they launched a schooner. In the fall of 1915, they took a gang of men into the woods of Washington County, Maine, and got out sufficient black spruce and hackmatack timbers to make the ribs and frame of a schooner of about five hundred tons. These timbers were sledged down to Millbridge during the winter, and as soon as the snow was off the ground the keel of the new vessel was laid. For the planking and decking southern pine was brought from Florida, while Oregon fir was used for the ceiling. By the spring of 1916, when the schooner was about half finished, the builders were approached by various ship owners who wished to purchase her. After considerable negotiation, the Sawyer Brothers agreed to sell the vessel when completed to the

firm of Rogers and Webb of Boston, who owned and operated a fleet of schooners in the coastwise lumber trade. The new owners retained a half interest in the vessel, and sold the remaining shares to fifteen other persons in Boston and in Maine. Among the shareholders was a descendant of the owner of the first two Grand Turks, and at his suggestion it was decided to give the new schooner that famous name.

By autumn the vessel was finished, and November 9th was set for her launching. Early in the morning of that day people from the neighboring towns and farms began to arrive at Millbridge, and soon the shipyard was filled with visitors who had come to attend the biggest event of the year in that vicinity. The vessel, glistening in her new white paint and bedecked with flags, rested on the ways, completely rigged, and in all respects ready for sea. The launching party gathered on the bow, and as the hour of high tide approached, the sound of mallets knocking out the shores could be heard. Finally, the last block fell away, and the schooner slowly began to move. Little by little she gathered momentum, until with a final rush she glided smoothly into the narrow river. At the same time, her sponsor

broke a quart of champagne on her bow and christened her 'Grand Turk.'

According to her register the schooner was 165 feet length, 35 feet beam, 13 feet depth of hold, and measured 540 gross registered tons. It is interesting to compare these figures with those of the second Grand Turk, which was 124 feet length, 32 feet beam, 16 feet depth, and measured 560 tons. The latter was an unusually large ship for her day, and was considered a suitable vessel for the Calcutta trade. But in 1916 this same trade was carried by steamers of 10,000 tons, and therefore the fourth Grand Turk, although about the same size as the second, was quite insignificant as compared with the average modern merchant ship, and was only practicable for short voyages along the coast or to the West Indies. She was intended primarily for the coastwise lumber trade, and was designed to carry about a half-million feet of lumber, two thirds in the hold and one third as a deck-load.

The command of the new vessel was given to Captain John W. French, and his crew consisted of one mate, four sailors, and a cook — a striking contrast to the complement of one hundred and twenty men crowding the decks of the Revolu-

THE LAUNCHING OF THE FOURTH GRAND TURK

tionary privateer Grand Turk, which was only half the size of the schooner of 1916.

On November 18th, the Grand Turk sailed away from the little port of Millbridge on her first voyage, and standing across the Bay of Fundy, arrived two days later at Liverpool, Nova Scotia. Here she took on her first cargo, nine hundred tons of wood pulp, and then sailed for New York, where she arrived December 18th. As West India freights were strong, the Grand Turk was chartered for a round voyage to those islands. From New York she proceeded light to Norfolk; loaded seven hundred and forty tons of coal, and laid her course for the regions in which her famous predecessor had cruised so successfully. On February 4, 1917, she came in round the verdant shores of Guadaloupe and anchored at Pointe-à-Pitre, just one hundred and thirty-four years after the first Grand Turk had captured the British ship Echo in those very waters. Upon discharging at Pointe-à-Pitre, the schooner ran down before the easterly trade to Cape Haitien on the northern coast of Haiti. Here, in the identical spot where the little Derby brigs and schooners loaded rum and sugar in colonial days, the fourth Grand Turk took on a cargo

of logwood. She then set sail for home, and arrived at Chester, Pennsylvania, March 30th, after a round voyage lasting a little over two months. The trip netted a good return, and a substantial dividend was distributed among the owners.

Two weeks after her arrival in the Delaware River the Grand Turk was off again on her next voyage, taking a cargo of coal from Philadelphia out to Gibara, Cuba. From there she crossed over to Mobile and loaded 460,000 feet of lumber for Fall River, Massachusetts. She reached the latter port in June; discharged the lumber; proceeded to Newport News, where she took on another cargo of coal, and sailed again for the West Indies; this time to Martinique, that island so well known to the first Grand Turk. On the return voyage she came back light to Jacksonville, where she loaded lumber for Boston.

It is unnecessary to trace every voyage of the fourth Grand Turk, for her career was not one of startling events. Rich prizes did not capitulate to her broadsides, nor did she visit the remote realms of picturesque Hongs and Hoppos. From Norfolk to Para, Brazil, with coal; from Jackson-

ville to Boston with lumber; from Newport News to Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana, with coal; from Savannah-la-Mar, Jamaica, to Chester with logwood; such were her voyages. Yet while she plied her steady trade, carrying these homely cargoes, the German submarines were destroying allied shipping, thus causing ocean freights continually to rise. On her first trip to Guadeloupe, in the winter of 1916, the Grand Turk received $7 per ton on a cargo of coal, for which the pre-war rate had been about $2. By the summer of the same year, when she was chartered to carry cargo out to the neighboring island of Martinique, the rate had risen to $13, or over six times the normal. Soon after this, however, the allied Governments, through the medium of the British Ministry of Shipping and the United States Shipping Board, began to exercise a control over rates, and no vessel could be granted clearance until its charter had been approved by one of the allied chartering committees. Thus rates were held in check and vessel owners were prevented from taking undue advantage of the tremendous shortage in ships. Nevertheless, in spite of this control, nearly every ship afloat made large profits during

this period. New vessels were continually being built at constantly increasing costs, and while even these expensive craft showed a good return on their capital, vessels like the Grand Turk, built before the rise in prices, reaped an amazing profit. In a year and a half after she was launched, the Grand Turk had completely paid for herself, and by the end of 1919, she had earned more than twice her original cost.

For about two years after the war was over, freights continued at the high level; but by this time the tremendous activity in ship building had made itself felt and had put an end to the artificially high freights. Soon merchants found that there was no longer a scarcity of bottoms, and that shipowners were forced by competition to reduce their rates little by little. Moreover, the war-worn countries of Europe were unable to finance their imports and exports as in pre-war times, and it became more and more difficult to procure sufficient cargoes to keep the world's ships fully employed. With the fall in ocean freights, the American coasting vessels that had gone into foreign trade now returned to their accustomed domestic routes, and this in turn caused the coastwise freights to fall to their pre-

THE FOURTH GRAND TURK OUTWARD BOUND
Leaving Boston, October 21, 1920, for Manopla, Cuba

war level. Thus by 1921 the abnormally inflated freights had completely collapsed everywhere. Many ships all over the world were tied up; but in spite of this the competition among those vessels still in service was so keen for the curtailed cargoes offering, that freights were cut to an often unremunerative level.

The Grand Turk, however, still continued her voyages; but these were now more largely confined to coastwise trips, carrying lumber from Charleston or Jacksonville to Boston or New York. Usually she went south empty, because no business offered in that direction. But these voyages in the lumber trade never showed more than a small profit, and often a considerable loss. Finally, in the summer of 1924, a fairly satisfactory charter was arranged for the Grand Turk to carry a cargo of barrel-staves and hoops from Portland, Maine, to Barbados, and so she sailed once more for the West Indies, this time under command of Captain E. E. Bigelow. She delivered the cooperage at Barbados, and then stood across the Caribbean to Jamaica, and entered the little harbor of Black River on the northern coast of that beautiful island. Here she loaded a full cargo of logwood for Chester, Penn-

sylvania, and sailed on October 31st for that port. The shortest route from Jamaica to the Delaware Capes is around Cape Maysi at the eastern end of Cuba, and so by the Crooked Island passage out into the Atlantic, and this is the usual course for steamers. But the prevailing easterly trade-winds, which constantly sweep through the West Indies, make it difficult for a sailing vessel to beat from Jamaica up to Cape Maysi; so that it is customary for sailing craft bound north from Jamaica to run off before the easterly trades around the western end of Cuba into the Gulf of Mexico. There they pick up the strong current of the Gulf Stream which carries them right into the teeth of the easterly trades, until they reach the straits between Florida and the Bahamas, when they can make their northerly course with wind abeam. By this route the Grand Turk should have completed her homeward voyage in about three weeks; so that when she had been out a month and there was no word of her, the owners became apprehensive. Their fears were soon confirmed by a cable from the captain, advising that the Grand Turk had grounded off San Fernando, Yucatan, and was a total loss. The mystery of how she came to be so

far to leeward of her course was not solved until a fortnight later, when a letter was received from the captain, giving the following account of the disaster:

On leaving Jamaica the Grand Turk laid a course for Cape San Antonio at the western end of Cuba. When only two days out, the captain was suddenly taken seriously ill with a fever, and a few days later the mate was also stricken. By the time the schooner got down to the Yucatan Channel, both captain and mate were so ill that they decided to put in somewhere for medical aid. Havana was the nearest port on the vessel's course; but to reach it meant a tedious beat to windward, and the captain feared they might not live to get there. He therefore put the schooner off before the wind and headed for Progreso in Yucatan, three hundred miles to leeward. The northern coast of Yucatan is low and flat, and coral reefs extend so many miles from shore that vessels often find themselves in shoal water when all that is visible of the distant land is a faint line of palm trees on the horizon. On November 15th the Grand Turk sighted this low-lying shore, and giving the land an ample berth, sailed all day along the coast toward

Progreso. But during the night a treacherous current set the schooner in towards the land, which could not be seen in the dark, and suddenly, with a tremendous crash, she piled up on one of the outlying reefs. A large hole was torn in the vessel's bottom, so that she soon filled with water, and as she swung around broadside to the wind, her rudder and stern-post were crushed against the reef. In the morning she was found to be stranded about two miles from shore. As there was no possibility of saving her, all hands took to the motor boat and made for Progreso. Here the captain and mate were able to obtain medical assistance, and eventually both recovered. The schooner, however, was abandoned as a total loss.

Such was the fate of the fourth Grand Turk. With her bones left to bleach on the coral reefs of Yucatan, her story comes to an end.

THE END

APPENDIX A

VOYAGES OF THE FIRST GRAND TURK

Voyage 1 — Captain Simmons:

Sailed from Salem June, 1781, for cruise in North Atlantic.

Prize No. 1, brig Defiance. Sent into Salem. Sold for £466–4–2.

Prize No. 2, brig Venus. Sent into Salem. Sold for £1037–10–4.

Returned to Salem August, 1781.

Voyage 2 — Captain Pratt:

Sailed from Salem October 6, 1781, for cruise off Irish coast.

Prize No. 3, ship Mary. Sent into Bilbao. Sold for 671,107 reals.

Prize No. 4, brig John & Grace. Sent into Bilbao. Sold for 149,169 reals.

Prize No. 5, schooner Triton. Sent into Salem. Sold for £1358–16–3.

Prize No. 6, schooner Primrose. Sent into Salem. Sold for £332–6–0.

Prize No. 7, brigantine Thomas & Betsey. Sent into Salem. Sold for £2499–19–6.

Returned to Salem May 4, 1782.

Voyage 3 — Captain Pratt:

Sailed from Salem July, 1782, for cruise in North Atlantic.

Prize No. 8, ship Ann. Sent into Salem.

Prize No. 9, brig Rambler. Sent into Salem.
Returned to Salem September, 1782.

Voyage 4 — Captain Pratt:
Sailed from Salem November, 1782, for cruise in West Indies.
Prize No. 10, ship Minerva. Sent into Salem.
Prize No. 11, brig Mary. Sent into Martinique. Sold for 102,338 livres.
Prize No. 12, sloop Polly. Sent into Martinique. Sold for 12,324 livres.
Prize No. 13, snow Sally & Polly. Sent into Martinique. Sold for 10,740 livres.
Prize No. 14, ship Echo. Sent into Martinique. Sold for 16,324 livres.
Prize No. 15, ship Active. Sent into Salem.
Prize No. 16, ship Pompey. Sent into Salem.
Returned to Salem April 30, 1783.

Voyage 5 — Captain Williams:
Sailed from Salem September 24, 1783, for Martinique, etc.
Returned to Salem April 7, 1784.

Voyage 6 — Captain Silsbee:
Sailed from Salem June, 1784, for West Indies.
Returned to Salem September, 1784.

Voyage 7 — Captain Ingersoll:
Sailed from Salem November 27, 1784. Arrived Cape of Good Hope February, 1785.
Sailed from Cape of Good Hope April 13, 1785. Arrived St. Helena April 30, 1785.

Sailed from St. Helena May 5, 1785. Arrived Grenada June 5, 1785.
Sailed from Grenada June 9, 1785. Arrived St. Eustatia June 12, 1785.
Sailed from St. Eustatia July 16, 1785. Arrived Salem July 31, 1785.

Voyage 8 — Captain West:
Sailed from Salem December 3, 1785. Arrived Cape of Good Hope February 23, 1786.
Sailed from Cape of Good Hope March 17, 1786. Arrived Isle of France April 22, 1786.
Sailed from Isle of France July 1, 1786. Arrived Canton September, 1786.
Sailed from Canton January, 1787. Arrived Cape of Good Hope March, 1787.
Sailed from Cape of Good Hope March, 1787. Arrived Salem May 22, 1787.

Voyage 9 — Captain Derby:
Sailed from Salem December 7, 1787. Arrived Isle of France February, 1788.

In April, 1788, the Grand Turk was sold at Isle of France.

APPENDIX B

VOYAGES OF THE SECOND GRAND TURK

Voyage 1 — Captain Hodges:

Sailed from Salem March 11, 1792. Arrived Calcutta August 24, 1792.

Sailed from Calcutta January 1, 1793. Arrived Madras January 17, 1793.

Sailed from Madras February 6, 1793. Arrived Salem June 12, 1793.

Voyage 2 — Captain Moseley:

Sailed from Salem November 10, 1793. Arrived Petersburg, Virginia November, 1793.

Sailed from Petersburg March, 1794. Arrived Salem April 11, 1794.

Sailed from Salem June 8, 1794. Arrived Hamburg July 17, 1794.

Sailed from Hamburg August 10, 1794. Arrived St. Petersburg September 10, 1794.

Sailed from St. Petersburg October 16, 1794. Arrived New York February 17, 1795.

In March, 1795, the Grand Turk was sold in New York.

APPENDIX C

VOYAGES OF THE THIRD GRAND TURK

Voyage 1 — Captain Breed:

Sailed from Salem February 16, 1813, for cruise off coast of Brazil.

Prize No. 1, ship William. Sent into Salem. Sold for $18,804.

Prize No. 2, ship Apollo. Recaptured by British.

Prize No. 3, small schooner. Sent into Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Returned to Portland, Maine, May 28, 1813.

Voyage 2 — Captain Breed:

Sailed from Salem October 19, 1813, for cruise off coast of Ireland.

Prize No. 4, brig Tryal. Destroyed.

Prize No. 5, ship Wolfes Cove. Sent into United States port. Value $60,000.

Prize No. 6, ship General Kemp. Sent into United States port. Value $40,000.

Prize No. 7, brig Juno. Sent into Roscoff, France. Value $50,000.

Prize No. 8, brig Graces. Released with prisoners.

Prize No. 9, brig Minerva. Burned.

Prize No. 10, small schooner. Sent into United States port.

Returned to Salem January 20, 1814.

Voyage 3 — Captain Breed:

Sailed from Salem February 17, 1814, for cruise off coast of Portugal.

Prize No. 11, brig Indian Lass. Sent into United States port.

Prize No. 12, brig Catherine. Burned.

Prize No. 13, brig Thomas & Betsey. Sent into United States port.

Prize No. 14, brig Thetis. Sent into United States port.

Prize No. 15, sloop Caroline. Released with prisoners.

May 2, 1814, engagement with H.M.S. Hinchinbroke.

Returned to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, June 5, 1814.

Voyage 4 — Captain Green:

Sailed from Salem August 6, 1814, for cruise in Bay of Biscay.

Prize No. 16, schooner Pink. Burned.

Prize No. 17, brig Brothers. Burned.

Prize No. 18, brig Charlotte. Recaptured by British.

Prize No. 19, brig Johannes. Sent into United States port.

Prize No. 20, brig Melziade. Cargo removed and vessel released.

Prize No. 21, brig Betsey. Sent into United States port.

Prize No. 22, brig Baltic. Sent into United States port. Valued $30,000.

Prize No. 23, brig Cossack. Recaptured.

Prize No. 24, brig Three Williams. Sent into United States port.

Prize No. 25, schooner Georgiana. Sent into Boston. Sold for $16,089.

Prize No. 26, brig Robert. Burned.

Prize No. 27, schooner Bird. Sent into Boston. Sold for $3874.

Prize No. 28, schooner Commerce. Burned.

Returned to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, November, 17, 1814

Voyage 5 — Captain Green:

Sailed from Salem January 1, 1815 for cruise off the coast of Brazil.

Prize No. 29, brig Joven Francisco. Recaptured by British.

Prize No. 30, ship Active Jane. Destroyed.

Prize No. 31, ship Acorn. Sent into Salem. Sold for $56,000.

Returned to Salem April 28, 1815.

Voyage 6 — Captain Austin:

Sailed from Boston June 29, 1815. Arrived Marseilles August, 1815.

Sailed from Marseilles October 4, 1815. Arrived Boston November 17, 1815.

Voyage 7 — Captain Boden:

Sailed from Boston December 14, 1815. Arrived Havana January, 1816.

On January 27, 1816, the Grand Turk was sold in Havana.

APPENDIX D

List of Vessels Boarded by the Privateer Brig Grand Turk on her Fourth Cruise

When Boarded	Vessel's Name	Lat.	Long.	Where From	Where Bound	Cargo	Remarks
Aug. 8	Br. Schooner Pink	42 49	62 39	Captured	Liverpool, N.S.	40 Q. Green fish	Burnt
9	Br. Brig Brothers	43 33	60 34	St. John's, N.B.	Liverpool	Lumber and staves	Burnt
12	Brig Wanderer	42 43	58 11	Prize to Invincible	United States	Dry fish	Permitted to pass
16	Br. Brig Charlotte	45 4	46 51	Antigua	Port Glasgow	Rum, sugar, coffee, and molasses	Ordered to the U.S.
18	Fr. Brig Thereza	46 20	41 45	St. Maloes	Grand Bank	Ballast	Permitted to pass
Sept. 1	Br. Brig Atlantic	48 44	9 4	Prize to Chasseur	United States	Tallow, hides, and Peruvian bark	Permitted to pass
1	Dutch Galliot De Forze Maria	48 44	9 4	Lisbon	Rotterdam	Salt	Permitted to pass
2	Bremen Ship Charlotte Heloise	48 8	9 1	Bremen	St. Bartholomew	Ballast and some linen	Permitted to pass
3	Dutch Sloop Omnibus	48 40	8 40	Lisbon	Rotterdam	Salt	Permitted to pass
3	Dutch Galliot de Vriendchop	48 40	8 40	Lisbon	Pappenburg	Salt	Permitted to pass
4	Prus. Brig Nayade	41 21	8 27	Lisbon	Hamburg	Assorted cargo	Permitted to pass
5	Fr. Brig Neptune	49 3	7 26	Mediterranean	Havre	Sweet oil	Permitted to pass
5	Sw. Brig Johannes	49 3	7 26	Lisbon	Plymouth	Rum and bread	Ordered to the U.S.
6	Fr. Corvette Le Stanislas	49 40	6 27	Marseilles	Havre	Sweet oil and soap	Permitted to pass
8	Br. Brig Speculator	48 43	11 25	Lanzarote	London	Barrillo	Permitted to pass
13	Russ. Galliot Nieu Hoffnung	43 3	10 2	Lisbon	Hamburg	Salt and lemons	Permitted to pass

	14	Russ. Brig Scial-lisvoy	43	18	9 58	Triest	St. Petersburg	Oil, brimstone and cream tartar	Permitted to pass
	14	Malta Brig Mel-ziade	43	18	9 58	Malta	Falmouth	Vilonia salts and gum Traganthe	Permitted to pass
	14	Sw. Brig Victoria	43	18	9 58	Alicante	Ferrol	Salt	Permitted to pass
	18	Dutch Brig De Afrikaan	47	0	5 29	Amsterdam	Coast of Africa	Gin and other articles	Permitted to pass
	19	Br. Brig Betsey of London	47	8	5 32	Triest	Hamburg	Currants, sweet oil, liquorice, sulphur, tartar, almonds, soap	Permitted to pass
	27	Fr. Ship L'Escaut	42	26	12 21	Marseilles	London	Dyestuffs, brimstone	Permitted to pass
	27	Fr. Brig L'Eugenie	42	26	12 21	Marseilles	Nantz	Soap and sweet oil	Permitted to pass
	28	Br. Brig Baltic	42	27	11 20	Gallipoli	Bristol	145 tons oil	Ordered to the U.S.
	30	Sch. Syren of Baltimore	41	16	9 43	Baltimore	On a Cruise	4–12–1. 18–2–6	
Oct.	1	Br. Brig Aurora	41	30	9 23	Lisbon	Cork	Ballast & 71 bags salt	Permitted to pass
	4	Fr. Sch. La Sophia				Dunkirk	Martinico	Provisions	Permitted to pass
	14	Sp. Ship Andalucia				Havana	Cadiz	Sugar, coffee & indigo	Permitted to pass
	17	Br. Brig Cossack	38	15	16 22	Alicante	St. Johns, N.F.	Wine, fruit, etc.	Ordered to the U.S.
	17	Br. Three Williams	38	33	16 24	Newfoundland	Lisbon	Dry codfish	Ordered to the U.S.
	22	Port. Brig. Flor de Tejo				Para (Brazil Coast)	Lisbon	Cocoa, coffee, hides and cotton	Permitted to pass
	26	Port. Brig Lareto				Brazil	Oporto	Sugar, rice, coffee, tallow, etc.	Permitted to pass
Nov.	7	Br. Sch. Georgiana	44	30	50 15	Martinique	Newfoundland	Sugar and rum	Ordered to the U.S.
	8	Br. Brig Robert				Prince Edward Island	London	Lumber and plank	Burnt
	14	Br. Sch. Bird	42	29	63	Newfoundland	Jamaica	Fish, hoops and lumber	Ordered to the U.S.
	15	Br. Sch. Commerce	43	20	64 46	Liverpool (N.S.)	Barbados	Fish, oil and lumber	Burnt

APPENDIX E

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

BETWEEN THE VARIOUS OFFICERS AND COMPANY OF THE PRIVATE ARMED BRIG-OF-WAR GRAND TURK OF SALEM — NATHAN GREEN, COMMANDER

ARTICLE FIRST

It is agreed by the parties that the owners fit the vessel for sea and provide her with great guns, small arms, powder, shot, and all other warlike stores, suitable medicines, and every other article necessary for such a voyage and her cruise, for all which no deduction is to be made from the Shares (excepting those provided by Law), for which the owners, or their substitutes, shall receive and draw *one half* the Net Proceeds of all such prize or prizes as shall be taken, and the other half shall be the property of the vessel's Company, to be divided in proportion as set against their respective names at foot; excepting *five shares*, that are to be reserved to the order of the Commander, to be divided by him to such as he may deem deserving among the vessel's Company.

ARTICLE SECOND

That for preserving good order and decorum on board said vessel, no person is to quit her, or go on shore, or on board any other vessel without first obtaining leave of the commanding officer on board under such punishment or fine as shall be decreed by the Captain and Officers.

ARTICLE THIRD

That cruise shall be where Owners or Majority of them shall direct.

Article Fourth

If any person shall be found a Ring-leader of any meeting or causing disturbance or refuse to obey the Captain or any officer, or behave with cowardice, or get drunk, more especially in time of action, he or they shall forfeit his or their share of any dividend or dividends, or be otherwise punished at the discretion of the Captain and officers.

Article Fifth

If any person shall steal or convert to his own use or benefit any part of a prize or prizes, or be found pilfering any money or other things, which does or may belong to the vessel, her officers or company, or to any prize or prizes, and be thereof convicted by officers, he shall be punished as aforesaid.

Article Sixth

That whoever first discovers a prize or sail that proves to be worth *one hundred* dollars per share shall receive twenty dollars from the gross sum, and if orders are given for Boarding, the first man on the Deck of the enemy shall receive one half of a share to be deducted from the gross amount of Prize Money.

Article Seventh

That if any one of said company shall die or be killed on this voyage, and any prizes be taken during the cruise, his share or shares shall be paid to his legal representatives.

Article Eighth

That if any of this company strike or assault any Male prisoner or rudely treat any female prisoner, he shall be punished or fined as the Captain and his officers shall decree.

ARTICLE NINTH

That whoever deserts the said vessel within the time hereinafter mentioned shall forfeit his prize money to the owners and company of said vessel, his debts to any person on board being first paid out of it, Provided they do not amount to more than one half the same.

ARTICLE TENTH

That on death of Captain the command devolve on the next in command, and so in rotation.

ARTICLE ELEVENTH

That no one of said company shall sell any more than one half of his share or shares, or right of claim thereto, of any prize or prizes, previous to the capture thereof.

ARTICLE TWELFTH

That all and every one of said company, during the term of said cruise, do agree hereby to serve on board said vessel, conformable to the terms, rules and regulations herein mentioned for the term of four and a half months, beginning the said term from the departure of the said vessel from the Port of Salem.

ARTICLE THIRTEENTH

That the owners or their agents shall have the right to give up and relinquish the private property of any Person on board, or belonging to any Captured Vessel, as well as to give up and relinquish, by compromise or otherwise, all claims which to them may appear doubtful.

ARTICLE FOURTEENTH

That the Captain shall have power to take out of any Prize or prizes whatsoever stores or other articles which

may be necessary for the Privateer without paying for them, provided the prize be not disabled thereby.

Article Fifteenth

The amount of cash or other articles which has or may be paid in advance to any of the vessel's officers or crew by the owners' agents (exclusive of what has been paid for any shares or parts thereof) shall be deducted from the first prize money.

Article Sixteenth

It is agreed and understood that the Captain and principal officers shall have Power, and we do hereby authorize them, to appoint prize agents in our behalf for the present intended cruise, where commissions shall be two per cent on the net amount of all prizes and prize goods.

We do hereby severally agree to the foregoing articles and promise to conduct ourselves accordingly.

July, 1814.

APPENDIX F

VOYAGES OF THE FOURTH GRAND TURK

Voyage	Sailed	From	To	Cargo
	November 18, 1916	Millbridge, Maine	Liverpool, Nova Scotia	
1	November 25, 1916	Liverpool, Nova Scotia	New York	900 tons wood pulp
2	January 18, 1917	Norfolk, Virginia	Guadeloupe	743 tons coal
3	March 19, 1917	Cape Haitien	Chester, Pennsylvania	672 tons logwood
4	April 14, 1917	Philadelphia	Gibara, Cuba	780 tons coal
5	June 15, 1917	Mobile	Fall River	462,715 feet lumber
6	August, 1917	Newport News	Martinique	779 tons coal
7	October, 1917	Jacksonville	Boston	406,188 feet lumber
8	November, 1917	Norfolk	San Juan, Porto Rico	790 tons coal
9	January 12, 1918	St. Marc, Haiti	Chester	749 tons logwood
10	April 17, 1918	Norfolk	Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana	802 tons coal
11	June 12, 1918	La Vela de Coro, Venezuela	Jacksonville	970 tons fertilizer
12	July, 1918	Jacksonville	Portland, Maine	425,000 feet lumber
13	September 21, 1918	Norfolk	Para, Brazil	794 tons coal
14	December 14, 1918	Cape Haitien	Norfolk	711 tons logwood
15	January 27, 1919	Norfolk	San Juan	798 tons coal
16	March 29, 1919	Savannah-la-mar, Jamaica	Chester	698 tons logwood
17	May 4, 1919	Philadelphia	Bermuda	820 tons coal
18	June 22, 1919	Cape Haitien	Chester	816 tons logwood
19	July 31, 1919	Philadelphia	Saugua, Cuba	791 tons coal
20	November 4, 1919	Jacksonville	Demerara, British Guiana	415,500 feet lumber
21	January 22, 1920	La Vela de Coro, Venezuela	Jacksonville	916 tons fertilizer
22	April 20, 1920	Jacksonville	Neuvitas, Cuba	437,916 feet lumber
23	June 18, 1920	St. Andrews, Florida	Macoris, San Domingo	455,916 feet lumber

VOYAGES OF THE FOURTH GRAND TURK (*continued*)

Voyage	Sailed	From	To	Cargo
24	August 21, 1920	St. Marc, Haiti	Stamford, Connecticut	674 tons logwood
25	October 21, 1920	Boston	Manopla, Cuba	General cargo
26	December 28, 1920	Port Bolivar, Texas	San Juan, Porto Rico	461,198 feet lumber
27	March 6, 1921	Jacksonville	Boston	405,428 feet lumber
28	May 2, 1921	Boston	Manopla, Cuba	General cargo
29	July 29, 1921	Jacksonville	Boston	429,792 feet lumber
30	September 23, 1921	Charleston, South Carolina	Fall River	318,360 feet lumber
31	November 17, 1921	Baltimore	Bangor	825 tons fertilizer
32	January 24, 1922	Vinal Haven, Maine	Mayport, Florida	730 tons stone
33	March 8, 1922	Jacksonville	Boston	368,926 feet lumber
34	May 3, 1922	Charleston, South Carolina	New York	510,371 feet lumber
35	July 1, 1922	Norfolk	Bermuda	804 tons coal
36	August 8, 1922	Jacksonville	Weymouth, Massachusetts	521,078 feet lumber
37	October 23, 1922	Norfolk	Bermuda	758 tons coal
38	November 27, 1922	Charleston, South Carolina	New York	509,199 feet lumber
39	January 17, 1923	New York	Bermuda	703 tons coal
40	March 19, 1923	Jacksonville	Boston	523,716 feet lumber
41	May, 1923	Georgetown, South Carolina	Philadelphia	405,947 feet lumber
42	August 22, 1923	Charleston, South Carolina	New York	509,572 feet lumber
43	October 24, 1923	Georgetown, South Carolina	Boston	509,963 feet lumber
44	January 9, 1924	Charleston	New York	496,121 feet lumber
45	April 6, 1924	Charleston	New York	485,922 feet lumber
46	June 20, 1924	Charleston	New York	500,233 feet lumber
47	August 15, 1924	Portland	Barbados	Cargo cooperage
48	October 31, 1924	Black River, Jamaica	Chester, Pennsylvania	Cargo logwood

Wrecked off Yucatan, November 15, 1924.

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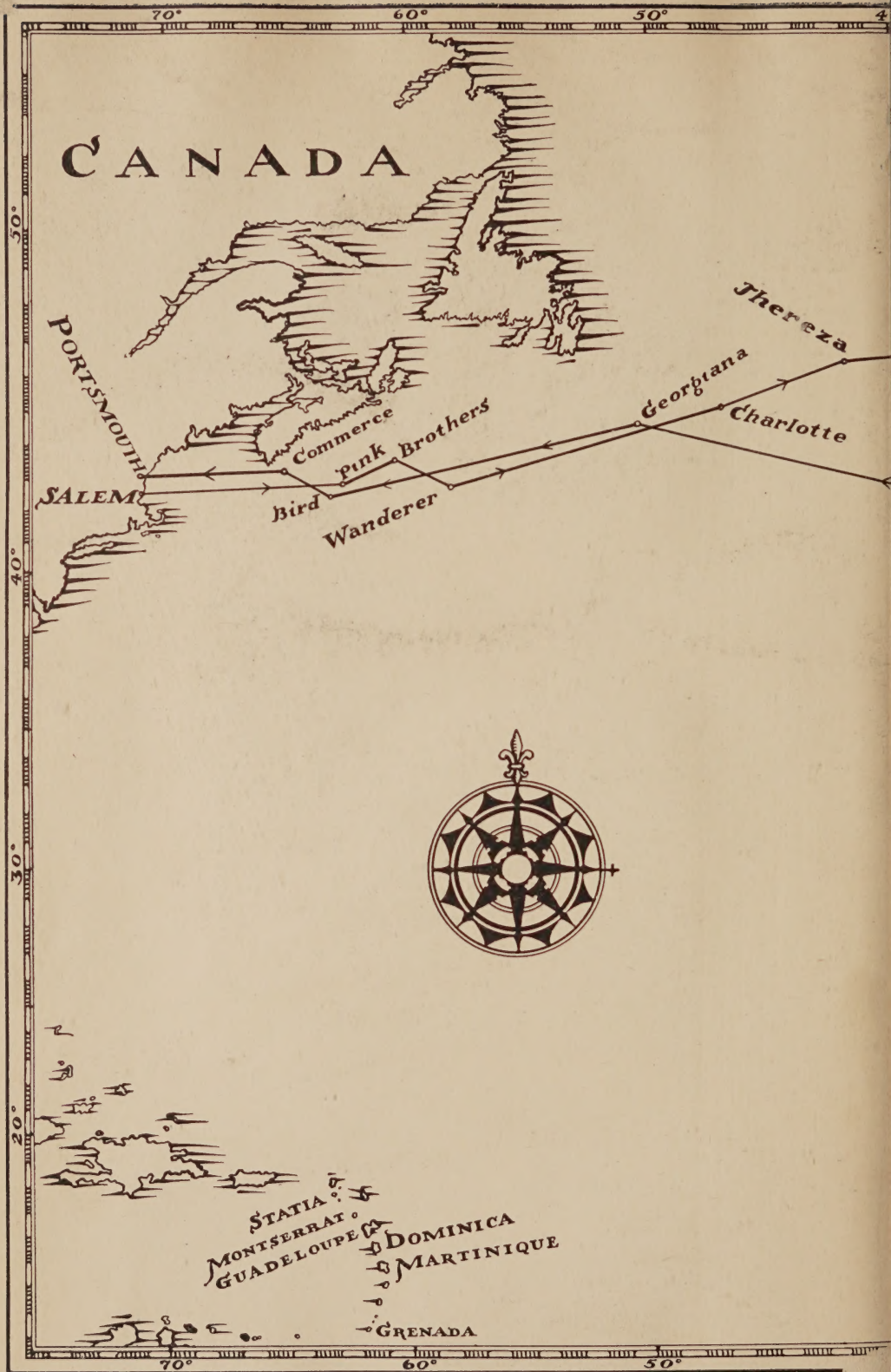
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The Letter of Marque Grand Turk of 14 Guns William Austin Commander, at Marseilles Harbour 1815

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Robert E. Peabody

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